

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

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BY THE
LIBRARIAN

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No. 4

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE 28th of last July marked a new epoch in the history of the University of Louvain. It was on that day that the first stone of the new library building, which is to replace the one so senselessly destroyed in August, 1914, was laid by Dr. Murray Butler, in the presence of the King and Queen of the Belgians, the ex-President of the French Republic, and a large and distinguished company of international scholars.

RE-BIRTH
OF THE
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY.

Dr. Butler, the President of Columbia University, is the Chairman of the National Committee of the United States for the Reconstruction of the Louvain Library, and it was eminently appropriate that he should perform the first public act in the erection of the new building, since the cost of it is to be defrayed by his Committee.

We had the privilege and pleasure of being present at this important function, as the representative of the Governors of the John Rylands Library, and also of the five hundred contributors to the English scheme for equipping the shelves of the new library with the necessary books ; and it is primarily for their information that we have given, elsewhere in the present issue, a brief account of the proceedings, together with some impressions which we formed of the country through which we passed on the journey to and from Louvain.

It was to us an event of peculiar interest and gratification, for in April, 1915, when we made our first public appeal for help under our scheme for rendering assistance to the authorities of the University in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, we were regarded by some of our pessimistic friends with an air of tolerant pity for daring to make such an appeal when Belgium was still in the occupation of the Germans, and, as they said, was likely to remain so. We were not discouraged, however, incurably optimistic as we were, and persisted in our endeavours, with the encouraging result that books

began to stream in by ones and by twos and by hundreds, from all classes of the community, in all parts of the world, until to-day the substantial figure of 40,000 volumes has been reached, and gifts continue still to reach us. We are sanguine enough, therefore, to believe that by the time the new building is ready for occupation, the English collection will have totalled not less than 50,000 volumes.

Of the books already received 38,000 have been catalogued and transferred to Louvain, where they are in actual use in their temporary home, which serves as University reading-room and library, pending the completion of the building which is now in process of erection.

We invite further offers of suitable books, so that our combined gift may be an acknowledgment not unworthy of our indebtedness to the incomparably brave nation and their valiant Sovereign, who sacrificed all but honour to preserve their own independence, and thereby safeguard the liberties of Europe by frustrating the invader's plans. We owe to Belgium more than we can ever repay, but it is fitting that we should seize such an opportunity as the present scheme offers to repay at least some part of our debt.

Since the publication of our last issue in July, the following gifts have been received, and we take this opportunity for re-
newing our thanks to the following contributors for so
generously and continuously responding to our appeals,
and in that way assisting us to obtain such encouraging results.

RECENT
DONORS TO
LOUVAIN.

(The figures in Brackets represent the number of Volumes.)

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THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.	(33)
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The CUNARD STEAMSHIP CO., LTD., Liverpool.	(1)
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The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, India Office.	(7)
The GOVERNORS OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.	(37)
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The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. (Per Dr. C. P. SCOTT.)	(9)

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The Rev. F. B. WYATT, Barnard Castle.	(1)

The works added to the shelves of this library during the past year, by purchase and by gift, number 8,264 volumes, of which 2,660 were acquired by purchase and 5,604 by gift.

ACCES-
SIONS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

The acquisitions by purchase include a number of interesting and useful items which add to the strength of several departments in which the library is already admittedly rich. It has been our endeavour to keep abreast of the times in those branches of literature in which the research students and other readers who make regular use of the library may reasonably expect to find the shelves equipped with the latest or best authorities, but we have not been able to make any specially noteworthy purchases either of manuscripts or of early printed books, in consequence of the financial disabilities under which we, in common with many similar institutions, are suffering.

The files of foreign periodicals and society publications dropped sadly into arrear during the difficult years of the war, but we are glad to be able to say that, with very few exceptions, they have now been brought up to date.

As an indication of the character of the additions that have been made, apart from current literature, we mention a few items taken almost at random from the lists: Ugolino's "*Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum . . . in quibus veterum Hebraeorum mores, leges, instituta, ritus sacri et civiles illustrantur*," Venetiis, 1744-1769, 34 vols., Folio; "*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*," Marburg, 1881-1900, Heft 1-100, 8vo;

Emil Levy's "Provinzialisches Supplement-Wörterbuch," Leipzig, 1894-1920, 7 vols., 8vo ; "Rivista di Filologia Romanza da Manzoni, Monaci, Stengel, etc.," with the continuations, "Giornale di Filologia Romanza," "Studi di Filologia Romanza," and "Studi Romanzi," 1873-1920, 31 vols., 8vo ; "Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans," 1907-1914, 5 vols., 8vo ; "Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Études : Section des sciences historiques et philosophiques," 1893-1915, 22 vols., 8vo ; La Curne de Ste. Palaye, "Dictionnaire historique de la langue française," Paris, 1875-1884, 10 vols., 8vo ; "Bibliotheca critica della letteratura Italiana, diretta di F. Torraca," 43 vols., 8vo ; "Oeuvres complètes de Diderot, revues sur les éditions originales, avec notices, notes et études, par J. Assézat," Paris, 1875-77, 20 vols., 8vo ; Holder's "Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz," 1896-1913, 3 vols., 8vo ; Du Boulay's "Historia Universitatis Parisiensis ipsius foundationem, nationes . . . complectens," Paris, 1665-1673, 6 vols., Fol. ; "La Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Solienne . . . Par P. L. Jacob," Paris, 1843-44, 4 vols., 8vo ; "Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, seu vetera ordinis monumenta recentioraque acta . . . P. A. Fruhwirth," 1893-1920, 28 vols., 4to ; Sir G. F. Laking's "Records of European armour and arms through seven centuries," 4 vols., 4to ; the "Publications of the Cantilupe Society," Hereford, 1909-21, 19 vols., 8vo ; "Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae," Helsingfors, 1842-1917, 47 vols., 8vo ; Boccaccio's "Il Decamerone," printed at the Ashendene Press, 1920, Fol. ; "The Hobby-Horse," 1886-1892, 7 vols. ; "Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique," 1869-1916, 20 vols., 8vo ; "Die Einblattdrucke des XV Jahrhunderts in der Kupferstichsammlung des Hof. Bibl. zu Wien," 1920, 2 vols., Fol. ; Max Lehr's "Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen, und französischen Kupferstiche im XV Jahrhundert," 4 vols. ; "Rassegna d'arte antica et moderna," Milano, 1914-20, 13 vols., 8vo ; two manuscript copies of the Zend Avesta and the Vendidad, from the library of L. H. Mills, in Sanskrit and Pehlevi, on paper ; The original Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, Yorkshire, 1442-1473.

The following is a list of the donors, to the number of 104, whose appreciation of the institution and its work has found expression in the numerous gifts and bequests by which the library has been enriched during 1921.

GIFTS TO
THE
LIBRARY.

We take this opportunity of renewing and emphasising the thanks already conveyed to each donor individually in another form, at the same time assuring them that these expressions of good-will are a source of great encouragement to the Governors, as well as to the present writer.

The names of the individual donors and institutions are as follows :—

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Groningen University.
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Texas, University of.
Toronto, University of.

Utrecht, University of.

Vatican Library.

Wall Paper Manufacturers, Ltd.

Washington. Library of Congress.

Washington. Smithsonian Institution.

Yale University Library.

The gifts, which number 5,604 volumes, include many works which it would have been difficult if not impossible to obtain through any other channel. Notably : A collection of books, pamphlets and periodicals connected with the Anti-Slavery Movement, and dating back for about a century, from the library of the late Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., of Sheffield, which has been presented by his executors, Miss Helen Wilson and Mr. A. C. Wilson. This gift also included a number of useful reference works of general interest. Mr. A. C. Wilson has also presented, on behalf of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, a large collection of pamphlet and other literature dealing with the question of Disestablishment, and including a set of the Society's own publications. By means of these two gifts the students of the history of either of these movements have had placed within their reach invaluable research material.

Sir Lees Knowles, Bart., was good enough to present his set of "The Times" for the period covering the great war, which he had had excellently bound in 33 volumes. This is a most welcome addition to the library's collection of war literature, which already numbers about 3,000 volumes.

Reference should also be made to the many collections of the works of modern writers from the library of Dr. Lloyd Roberts, which have been received as part of his bequest during the same period, and which have greatly strengthened the particular department of the library to which they properly belong. These include the works of James Howell, William Morris, Andrew Lang, Richard Le Gallienne, William Hazlitt, Austin Dobson, Lord Byron, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Douglas Jerrold, Walter Savage Landor, W. Leigh Hunt, Charles Swinburne, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, George Henry Lewes, Thomas H. Huxley, George Augustus Sala, Goldwin Smith, Frederic Harrison, and William Watson, to mention only the most important. Then, too, we should

not omit to refer to the remarkably complete collection of Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici," which is said to include every edition from the first to the latest ; and also the collection of the fifteen earliest editions of Sir Samuel Garth's poem "The Dispensary," both of which came to us from the same source.

Amongst other gifts to the Library is one of exceptional interest to students of the history of the modern drama, consisting of seventeen volumes of newspaper cuttings, which furnish a complete record of Miss Horniman's courageous enterprise in Manchester, from the time of her taking over the commonplace Gaiety Theatre, which under her effective direction speedily developed into one of the most widely known theatres in the world, down to the time when she relinquished its ownership and management in the early part of last year.

MISS
HORNIMAN
AND THE
GAIETY
THEATRE,
MANCHES-
TER.

For twenty years Miss Horniman faithfully served the interests of English drama in the North of England. More than six hundred plays, by every sort of author both native and foreign, from Euripides to Stanley Houghton and St. John Ervine, were produced at the Gaiety Theatre, which quickly became a training ground for young Lancashire writers, where they could obtain the only training that is of any service to dramatists—the chance to see their plays actually performed on the stage.

The result of Miss Horniman's enterprise was to place Manchester in a position which made it, theatrically, almost unique among the cities of the world, but it has now fallen from its high estate through allowing this home and school of pure drama to degenerate into a picture theatre. Manchester, we have been told, is full of gratitude to Miss Horniman for what she has done for it, and the extent of that debt will become more apparent as time passes. It was prepared to do anything for this courageous lady, except go to her theatre in sufficient numbers to prevent it from becoming a picture palace !

A few years ago Miss Horniman rendered another signal service to the students of the modern drama, by depositing in the Library a similar collection, in ten volumes, of fugitive, but none the less valuable material dealing with the history of the Irish National Theatre, from its beginnings in 1901.

THE IRISH
NATIONAL
THEATRE.

These important sources of information would have been lost, because, through accident of birth, they are buried in the files of the

various newspapers and periodicals in which they appeared, but for the praiseworthy energy displayed by the donor in collecting, and with her own hands preserving, and making the collection available in its existing form.

This Irish National Theatre was a natural outgrowth of the Celtic Revival, which in itself was but a phase of the Irish National Movement, which has met with a good deal of ridicule in this country, because of the extravagances and absurdities in which some of the more aggressive spirits have indulged ; yet, amongst literary people who have looked upon it with unprejudiced eyes it has aroused a real sympathetic interest.

The aim of the little band of enthusiasts who were responsible for laying the foundations of this national drama, some twenty years ago, was to render in dramatic form some of the best of the fascinating legendary tales and traditions which tell of the faith and life of the Irish people, of the deeds of their heroes, and of the glories of their kings, and in so doing to substitute a live national drama worthy of the name, for what Mr. Yeats describes as : "the machine-made play of modern commerce, that lifeless product of conventional cleverness, from which we come away knowing nothing new about ourselves, seeing life with no new eyes, and hearing it with no new ears".

In the realization of their aims Miss Horniman played a very important part by generously undertaking not only to provide these struggling enthusiasts with a permanent home at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, but also by providing them with a subsidy for five years, so that they might develop the literary and dramatic instincts of the Irish people. Until the advent of this fairy god-mother they had had to write their own plays, and with their very limited resources to produce them, often under the most distressing circumstances, and amidst the most inconvenient surroundings.

Twenty years ago there were no Irish plays except the melodramas dealing with the insurrection of 1798, and similar subjects. To-day there are hundreds of plays dealing with every aspect of modern life in town and country, with characters in Irish mythology, and with life in other lands, written or translated by Irish authors.

The Abbey Theatre artists are now performing in this country and America, and it has its own school of acting under the direction of Mr. Frank Fay, one of the Abbey's first and greatest players.

In the early days of this movement some of the finest productions were played to very sparse audiences, and when Synge's "Playboy in the Western World" was first produced the police had to be called in to quell the opposition and to remove those who protested.

Since those exciting days there has been a great change. The Abbey Theatre has created a taste for sincere and original drama, with an atmosphere which allows of a latitude of expression that would not have been dreamt of twenty years ago. It can now live on its earnings, but it should not be forgotten that in the period of transition Miss Horniman's help was invaluable.

Indeed, when the history of the English and Irish movement during the first quarter of the twentieth century comes to be written, the historian will find that much of his work will have to be written around Miss Horniman, and that he is indebted to her for her foresight in preserving this valuable collection of material for his use.

We are glad to be able to announce the publication of the first two volumes of the long expected "Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library," which may be procured from the Library's regular agents: The Manchester University Press; Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.; and Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Limited.

CATA-
LOGUE OF
LATIN
MANU-
SCRIPTS.

The first volume contains the descriptive text, whilst its companion volume of plates comprises nearly two hundred facsimile reproductions of characteristic pages of text, illuminations, and jewelled bindings, selected from the manuscripts with which the catalogue deals. These include examples of first-class quality of the art of the great mediæval writing schools of Europe, ranging from the sixth to the nineteenth century, and covering a wide range of subjects.

It should be explained that the present volumes represent the first instalment of the "Catalogue of Western Manuscripts," and deal with the first group (numbering 183) of the Latin rolls and codices, which are almost exclusively written in the book hand.

Considerable additions to this section of the Library's manuscript collections have been made since the present catalogue was taken in hand, many of which are of considerable historical importance, including cartularies, royal wardrobe and household expenses books, chronicles, early papal bulls, briefs, patents, wills, marriage contracts, court rolls, charters, etc. These are being examined and described in readiness

rides off to the beach at full speed ¹ greatly to the dismay of his tutors. 'Why, you must be mad,' he cries, 'my poor ladies, what can you be expecting? This is not the camp of the enemy, it is your own hopes that you are giving to the flames. See, I am your own Ascanius'; and, like a boy, he pulls his helmet off and dashes it down on the ground before them, so that they may see at once who it is. There is an echo of the same delicate, sympathetic humour wherever Ascanius appears in the fighting in the later books, though it would take too long to trace it here.

In all these cases the reader's sense of incongruity is aroused just because the point of view of the narrator is changed. For example, in the first case, from the thoughts of the anxious parents with their pail of cold water which is to extinguish the mystic flame, the point of view shifts suddenly to the insight of the old Anchises who discovers what the portent means. In the second example we pass from the absorbing anxiety of Æneas in burning Troy to his feeling seven years after in retrospect, when he realises the picture of little Ascanius trotting by his side quite unconscious of the danger, only thinking, perhaps, that his father is walking rather fast.

But does all this, it may be asked, illustrate anything more than a habit of Vergil's imagination, lively enough and perhaps characteristic? What has it to do with philosophy in any shape? And after all, why be concerned to ask about Vergil's philosophy at all, when, in the revelation which he gives us through the lips of Anchises in the Sixth Book, he declares explicitly the truth of a large part of the regular Stoic creed? Especially its pantheistic belief in the World-soul, that is, in the divine origin of all life and the share in the divine nature which every living thing can consequently claim. Further, the characteristically Stoic doctrine (though the Stoics were not the first to invent it) of the wickedness inherent in matter; and how evils of every kind spring from our material bodies—the excitements of passions and fears, of pain and pleasure. All this, you say, and say with truth, Vergil declares to us on the high authority of Anchises, and Anchises in Elysium, as something which Æneas was told to believe quite seriously. Why then look further for any philosophic attitude on Vergil's part, when his own utterances in one of the latest parts of his work seem to pledge him so clearly to a Stoic creed?

But to this question there is an answer. It is that we must not judge Vergil's theory of life merely by one passage of twenty or thirty lines taken in isolation from the rest. I have no doubt that Vergil was wholly sincere in commending the Stoic doctrines that I have mentioned; and he certainly commended also the Stoic pursuit of virtue for its own sake. But if we ask whether he accepted their theoretic ideal of philosophic calm, that is, of complete indifference to joy and to sorrow, as the aim of the philosopher's endeavour, that which we popularly understand by Stoicism to-day, and which was certainly a part of their creed generally recognised in Vergil's time and later, then, surely truth compels us to reply that in that sense Vergil was not a Stoic, nor was even Anchises, at the very height of his revelation, whatever he might preach. For Anchises rejoices¹ keenly with Æneas in the greatness of Rome to be; and Anchises weeps bitterly² over the bereavement which Rome suffered in the death of the young Marcellus. When, therefore, Vergil puts upon the lips of Anchises³ the famous Stoic doctrine that desire and fear, sorrow and joy, are all equally the fruit of our evil material condition, he does not and cannot mean, we may be quite sure, every kind of sorrow and every kind of joy, but only the selfish kinds, akin to the selfish fears and covetings which the first half of the maxim condemned. That is, clearly, the limit within which Vergil could accept or meant to accept the Stoic creed. Some joys and some sorrows were to Vergil the most sacred and the most precious part of life.

This brings us to my last and chief point—Vergil's attitude to what seemed to him the supreme paradox of life; the supreme example which proved the need of stating things by antithesis, of always seeing two sides to every human event. Let me state simply what I think to have been Vergil's view; and let me confess that my perception of what he felt has been probably quickened by the tragic experience of the last six years—an experience only too closely resembling that of Vergil's generation in the last seventeen years of the Civil Wars. There was only one thing to Vergil that really mattered in this world, and that was the affection of human beings, their affection first for their own human kind, secondly for their fellow-creatures, and

¹ VI., 718.

² VI., 868.

³ *Hinc metuunt cupiuntque dolent gaudentque*, VI., 733.

thirdly, for the power which we call Nature, who to Vergil was a being not less throbbing with life and affection, not less bountiful of love to men, than any human mother to her child. Need I attempt to illustrate this supreme characteristic of Vergil's personality? Through all the ages it is this which has endeared him to thousands of unknown readers who, through the veil of mist raised by the strangeness of his tongue and the distance of his times from their own, have felt the central, inner glow of his human affection, the throbbing pulse of that great heart. Think of his picture in the *Georgics* of the farmer at home with his children 'hanging round his kisses'; think of the delight with which he notes the ways of animals small and great, but especially the small ones—birds and insects and little creatures of the soil; how more than once¹ he bursts into an enthusiastic avowal of gratitude to the beneficent power that strews men's path with blessings. But perhaps, since the *Æneid* is less often read as a whole, we are less conscious how often the same note sounds in that poem. Think of the line in the Sixth Book where, among those who receive the highest honour in Elysium, the snow-white garland, the last class consists of those who, 'by their good deeds, have made two or three folk remember them' (*quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo*). With what gentle sympathy does Vergil sketch the figure of every aged man—Anchises, Evander, Latinus—and of every youth—Pallas and Lausus, Nisus and Euryalus? Or when Galaesus is slain at the outbreak of the fighting in Book VII., failing in his effort to pacify his countrymen, how many readers have noted how his flocks and herds at home and all the people of his farm are brought into the picture to represent the mourning for their master? Or when Menoetes falls in the last battle,² how we are bidden to think of the little hired farm which he had taken over from his father and the peaceful life there on which he had counted? Think again of the feeling shown for Silvia's pet stag, whose accidental wounding by Ascanius, in his hunt, is the signal for the outbreak of war. This incident is actually censured by a wise modern critic as merely pretty (genrehaft) and purely Alexandrine, quite beneath the dignity of the Epic!

But I need not prolong the enumeration. Let me ask the reader

¹ *Georgics*, II. 323 ff.; 433; 516.

² XII., 517.

now to realise the tragic paradox which Vergil found beneath this loving-kindness of the world, the fact that our human affection is the source both of the only joys worth counting joys, and of the only sorrows worth counting sorrows. Every one of the troubles of the *Aeneid*, every one of its tragedies, springs ultimately from this. The tragedy of Dido, first from the misguided affections¹ of Juno and Venus, and then from her own ; the tragedy of Juturna from her love for her brother ; the war in Latium from Silvia's affection for her stag and her followers' affection for Silvia ; the second war from Turnus' love for Lavinia and his followers' devotion to Turnus ; the tragedies of Brutus and Torquatus, briefly mentioned in the vision of Anchises ; the tragedy of Marcellus, pictured in golden lines at the end of the same revelation—the essence of all these lies in the affection of some men or women, ill guided or ill governed, or crossed by physical calamity. With the solitary exception of Drances (who plays but a small part) there is no such motive in the whole of the *Aeneid* as that from which the *Iliad* starts, the high-handed selfishness of one primitive chieftain compensating himself by robbing another ? Compare and contrast with this the crowning scene of the *Aeneid* in which the conquered Turnus might have been spared but for what to the ancient mind was his inhuman cruelty to Pallas and his father, of which he still wore the trophy in the baldric of Pallas girt upon his own shoulder. Such an offender must not survive into the new era ; the violence of Turnus would have continued to trample on the sacred laws of humanity ; yet even Turnus Vergil could not doom without a note of pity ; in the last words of the whole epic the soul of Turnus passes 'indignant to the shades'.²

Now it was in this common source of human sorrow and human joy that Vergil found the supreme paradox which for him wrapped the world in mystery. Yet strange and mysterious as the contradiction was, he held it to be the key of life.

Here then we have reached the centre of Vergil's thought. All the sorrow and all the joy of the universe seemed to him to spring from one root, and he accepts, nay, he welcomes them both. There

¹ These were of a political, nationalist type, but affections none the less ; see a fuller discussion of this in *Great Inheritance*, p. 161.

² This point is developed more fully in *The Messianic Eclogue of Vergil*, p. 46.

could be no human affection, so Vergil saw, unless it were such as to make its possessors capable, and capable in equal degrees, both of the most exquisite suffering, and of the most exquisite joy. This to him is the fundamental fact of the universe—that all pain and all joy is to be measured simply in terms of human love. And if you ask him his last word upon this mystery, the mystery on which he has pondered year after year, viewing it from both sides, through all his study of life, he will tell you that the Golden Bough is always found in the shadows of the forest, when it is sought in fulfilment of duty. And while others may turn away from the sight or thought of those shadows in mere dread or disbelief, Vergil will bid us, like his hero, pluck the Golden Bough eagerly and trust it gratefully, to bring us through even darker shadows out into the light beyond ; to trust that somewhere, somehow, Death itself is overcome by the power and persistence of Love.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.¹

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IN the *Convivio*, Dante discusses one aspect of what we should now call the personal element in literature : whether an author should speak of himself in his book. It is, he says, unlawful for a man to do so without a necessary reason. For a man cannot speak of any one without either praising him or blaming him ; both which kinds of discourse are in bad taste, *rusticamente stanno*, in the mouth of a man himself ; and, further, there is no man who is a true and just measurer of himself, so does our self love deceive us. Nevertheless, there are times and occasions when it is not only legitimate but necessary, for his own sake or for the sake of others, that a man should speak of himself :—

“ Verily I say that, for necessary reasons, to speak of oneself is permitted. And among the other necessary reasons two are most manifest. The one is when, without discoursing of oneself, great infamy and peril cannot be made to cease ; and then it is permitted on the ground that, to take the less evil of two paths, is as it were to take a good one. And this necessity moved Boëthius to speak of himself, in order that, under cover of consolation, he might defend himself from the perpetual infamy of his exile, by showing it to be unjust—since no other defender arose. The other is when, by discoursing of oneself, very great utility follows therefrom to others by way of instruction ; and this reason moved Augustine in his *Confessions* to speak of himself ; for by the process of his life, which was from evil to good, and

¹ The substance of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library 12 October, 1921.

from good to better, and from better to best, he gave example and instruction, which could not else be received on so true a testimony."¹

This passage indicates the two main elements in the autobiography of the *Divina Commedia*. Like Boëthius, Dante would defend himself "from the perpetual infamy of his exile, by showing it to be unjust"; like Augustine, by the process of his life, he would give "example and instruction, which could not else be received on so true a testimony". In the story of his outer life, the sacred poem is an apologia; in the story of his inner life, it is a confession of spiritual experience.

It is curious to notice how, now and again in the poem, Dante, as it were, tries to reconcile the theory of its being illegitimate for a man to speak of himself with the fact that the very nature of his theme is compelling him to do so throughout. When Farinata degli Uberti questions him about his family, the poet says: "I, who was desirous to obey, concealed it not, but opened the whole to him";² but he never gives his own name to any soul, nor in any other case reveals his identity to anyone who does not already know him. He is content, as a rule, simply to let them understand that he is a living man;³ and, when they recognise from his speech that he is a Tuscan, to say that he comes from the banks of the Arno, or, at the most, from Florence. Thus, he answers the Frati Godenti: "I was born and grew up on the fair river of Arno at the great city, and I am with the body that I have always had".⁴ To Guido del Duca he adds an excuse for his reticence: "Through the midst of Tuscany there spreads a stream which rises in Falterona, and a hundred miles of course does not content it. From its banks I bring this body; to tell you who I am would be to speak in vain, because my name as yet has slight renown."⁵ To Bonagiunta's question, whether he sees before him the author of the canzone, *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore*, he merely replies with a definition of poetical inspiration: "I am one who, when love inspires me, take note, and, in that fashion which he dictates within, do I give utterance".⁶ When at last his

¹ *Convivio*, i. 2.

² *Inferno*, x. 43-44.

³ Cf. *Purgatorio*, xi. 55: "Cotesti che ancor vive e non si noma".

⁴ *Inf.*, xxiii. 94-96.

⁵ *Purg.*, xiv. 16-21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xxiv. 52-54.

name is uttered, on the lips of Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise, it is introduced as it were apologetically : " When I turned at the sound of mine own name, that of necessity is here set down ".¹

Incidentally, Dante tells us in the *Inferno* the year of his birth, and in the *Paradiso* the season. He is " nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita," that is, in his thirty-fifth year, and it is now " mille dugento con sessanta sei anni " since the first Good Friday.² That is, it is now 1300, and Dante was therefore born in 1265. In the Stellar Heaven, he invokes his natal stars, the constellation of the Twins : " O glorious stars, O light fulfilled with great virtue, from which I acknowledge all my genius, whate'er it be, with you was rising and with you was setting he who is father of every mortal life, when I first felt the Tuscan air ".³ That is, he was born when the Sun was in the sign of Gemini, which would be between the middle of May and the middle of June ; and we know more precisely from Boccaccio that the poet's birthday was in May. According to Dante's theory of the correspondence of the angelic orders with the heavens, and the communication of their power to the spheres, the specific virtue of these stars—as part of the Stellar Heaven—is that of the Cherubim, whose name is interpreted *plenitudo scientiæ*, the order of angels that sees most into the hidden things of God and whose function it is to spread the knowlege of Him upon all beneath them.

The scene with Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise tells again, in the light of fuller experience, the spiritual story of the *Vita Nuova*, the love that was the motive power of the poet's early days, when the revelation of earthly beauty in his lady became the guiding star to lead his soul to the quest of the divine beauty ; her " ascent from flesh to spirit," and Dante's changed life in the years that followed her death, when " he turned his steps along a way not true ".⁴ His first literary triumph—the composition of the canzone, *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore*, which revealed the new poet to his contemporaries—is recorded in the scene with Bonagiunta.⁵ His services in the army of the Commune have left their trace in more than one passage ;⁶ his

¹ *Purg.*, xxx. 62-63.

² Cf. *Inf.*, i, 1 ; *Conv.*, iv. 23 ; *Inf.*, xxi. 113.

³ *Par.*, xxii. 112-117.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiv. 49-51.

⁶ *Inf.*, xxi. 94-96, xxii. 1-9 ; *Purg.*, v. 91-123.

⁴ *Purg.*, xxx. and xxxi.

friendships with Carlo Martello and Casella (both of whom he associates with his later canzoni), his more intimate connection with Forese Donati and with Guido Cavalcanti, the one the companion of less worthy episodes, the other, whom he had once been proud to call the first of his friends, now unable to accompany him in his spiritual journey through the other world, inspire lines too familiar to need quotation.

The autobiography of Dante centres in the story of his exile, and for this the scene with Brunetto Latini is the preparation : that heart-rending scene of mutual recognition : “ Siete voi qui, ser Brunetto ? ” Brunetto Latini is, to some extent, a companion picture to Farinata degli Uberti. Farinata represented the chivalry and turbid patriotism of the Ghibelline nobles of Florence, Brunetto the highest type of the Guelf burghers who had overthrown them. Michele Scherillo has aptly defined him as “ a modest Cicero of Guelf Florence ”. The period in which Dante came under Brunetto’s influence was that of the latter’s old age and greatest political activity ; the decade from 1282 to 1292, which in Florentine history ran from the institution of the priors as the chief magistrates of the Republic to the final triumph of the *secondo popolo* with the Ordinances of Justice. It is during those years, in the documents published by Del Lungo, that we find Brunetto taking part in the various councils of the State, giving his opinion, which is usually accepted and acted upon by the government. The phrase, *placuit quasi omnibus secundum dictum dicti ser Burnecti* (“ almost all voted according to the speech of the said Ser Brunetto ”), is several times repeated in these records, as the normal result when Brunetto had spoken. Following Scherillo’s suggestion, we can surmise the relations between Brunetto and Dante. As the poet grew up, he found the older man, not only a light of the philosophical learning set forth in his *Trésor*, but a type of the highest patriotism that the faction-tossed Florentine commune could produce ; while Brunetto saw in the youth, who no doubt became in some sort his disciple, one in whom his ideal of a citizen might be fulfilled, one prepared to bring the highest culture of his age and the dream of the glories of ancient Rome to the service of the new Italian State. “ If thou follow thy star, thou canst not miss the glorious harbour, if I discerned well in the beauteous life ; and, if I had so died too soon, seeing heaven so gracious to thee, I would have urged thee on to the

work”¹ Brunetto here refers primarily to Dante’s political work for Florence. “E s’io non fossi sì per tempo morto.” In this line, as occasionally elsewhere in the poem, *per tempo* has the sense of “too soon”.² It was just too soon for him to assist the poet in his political career, for Brunetto died in 1294, over eighty years old, the year before Dante entered political life as a member of the special council of the Captain in November, 1295. The eighteen lines that follow contain Dante’s own political apologia, which he is to hear repeated on the lips of Cacciaguida. The ungrateful Florentine people “will become, for thy good deeds, thy foe”. “Thy fortune has this much honour in store for thee, that the one party and the other shall hunger for thee ; but far from the goat shall be the herbage.” The earlier commentators understand “hunger for thee” in a good sense, “desire to make thee one of themselves” ; the moderns, for the most part, in a sinister fashion, “desire to devour thee”. In either case, we have Dante’s testimony to the influence of Brunetto on his own life :—

“ ‘If my prayer were wholly fulfilled,’ I answered him, ‘you would not yet be placed in banishment from human nature ; for in my mind is fixed, and now pierces my heart, the dear and kind paternal image of you, when in the world, from time to time, you taught me how man makes himself eternal ; and how much I cherish it, while I live, must needs be shown forth in my tongue’ ”.³

The vague prophecies of exile, which Dante hears at intervals throughout the poem, become explicit in the *Paradiso*, where the apologia placed on the lips of Brunetto receives a fuller commentary from Cacciaguida :—

“As Hippolytus departed from Athens, by reason of his pitiless and treacherous stepmother, so from Florence needs must thou depart. This is willed, this is already being sought, and soon will it be done for him who thinks it, there where Christ is put to sale each day. The blame will follow the offended party in report, as it is wont ; but the vengeance shall be witness to the truth that deals it.”⁴

Cacciaguida is speaking from the standpoint of April, 1300. It is difficult to imagine that, at that precise moment, Dante was marked out for special destruction at Rome. The reference is probably to

¹ *Inf.*, xv. 55-60.

² Cf. *Inf.*, xxvi. 10 : “E se già fosse, non saria per tempo”.

³ *Inf.*, xv. 61-87.

⁴ *Par.*, xvii. 46-54.

the plot against the liberties of the Republic, concocted at the papal court by three Florentines in the service of the Pope, which was discovered in that month of April, and may be regarded as the first step in the papal policy that led to Dante's exile.

As we know, Dante was a member of the Signoria from 15 June to 14 August, 1300. He entered upon office when the rival factions of the Bianchi and Neri had already "come to blood," and about the same time as a papal legate, Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta, arrived in Florence in the name of Pope Boniface—the pontiff who, a month previously, had demanded from Albert of Hapsburg the absolute renunciation to the Holy See of all rights claimed by the Emperor in Tuscany. On the first day of Dante's office, the sentence passed in the previous April against the three Florentine papal conspirators was formally consigned to him and his colleagues, and, in some sort, ratified by them. Nevertheless, the poet and his fellow priors—while putting the aristocratic leaders of both factions under bounds outside the territory of the Republic—avoided a direct rupture with the papal legate. It was the succeeding Signoria, after Dante had left office, which not only recalled the exiled Bianchi (on the plea of the illness of Guido Cavalcanti), but brought on a crisis with the Cardinal—who, in September, broke off negotiations and left the city. But in the following year, 1301, we find Dante evidently heading a kind of antipapal opposition, particularly in the famous meetings—famous because the only case in which his actual words have been preserved—of 19 June. The Pope, by letter from Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta, had demanded from the Republic the continuance of the service of a hundred horsemen. In a united meeting of the Councils of the Hundred, of the Captain, and of the Capitadini (the heads of the Greater Guilds), and again in the Council of the Hundred apart, Dante spoke twice against compliance, urging "quod de servitio faciendo domino Papae nihil fiat".¹ It would also seem that the poet was endeavouring to unite the rich burghers with the people for the defence of the Republic. Among the various occasions on which he is recorded to have spoken in September is one on the 13th of that month, when, in the united Councils, he pleaded for the preserva-

¹ Upon all this subject, see B. Barbadoro, *La condanna di Dante*, in Barbi's *Studi danteschi*, vol. ii. (Florence, 1920).

tion of the Ordinances of Justice. This was the usual course when the State was in danger, but an unusual feature in this meeting was that not only the Greater Guilds (those mainly engaged in wholesale commerce, exportation and importation, and the mercantile relations of Florence with foreign countries), but also the Minor Guilds (which carried on the retail traffic and internal trade of the city) were represented. A passage in Leonardo Bruni's *Life of Dante* seems to imply that this innovation was brought about by the poet's advice.

There can now be little doubt that the once disputed account of Dante's embassy to the Pope, related in detail by Dino Compagni, is substantially historical.¹ At the beginning of October, the Florentine government—then entirely of the Bianchi—induced the allied commune of Bologna to send an embassy to the Pope, and associated with it three ambassadors of their own: Maso Minerbetti, Corazza da Signa, and Dante Alighieri. The three Florentines were to make terms with Boniface so as to avert the coming of Charles of Valois. The Pope received the ambassadors, probably not at Rome, but at Anagni; sent two, Maso Minerbetti and Corazza da Signa, back to Florence to demand submission to his will, but detained Dante. Thus the poet was absent on that fateful All Saints Day, 1301, when Charles of Valois, as papal peacemaker, entered Florence "to joust with the lance of Judas"; but, notwithstanding Leonardo Bruni's statement that he had reached Siena on his way back when he heard of his ruin, it is more probable that he had returned, but fled from Florence after the summons to appear before the new Podestà that preceded the first sentence. This, as we know, is dated 27 January, 1302. With four others, Dante is accused of barratry in the priorate or after leaving that office, and of corruptly and fraudulently employing the money and resources of the Commune against the Sovereign Pontiff and Charles to resist his coming, or against the pacific state of the City of Florence and the Guelf Party, and by similar means causing the expulsion of the Neri from Pistoia and severing that city from Florence and the Church. He is condemned to fine, to two years' exile, and perpetual exclusion from office. A second sentence (10 March) dooms him, with his four companions and ten others, as

¹ Cf. Del Lungo's notes to *La Cronica di Dino Compagni* in the new Muratori (tom. ix., pt. ii).

contumacious, to perpetual exile or death by burning if he falls into the power of the Commune. The correct reading of the charge in the first sentence makes it exclusively one of corrupt practices though with a political purpose.¹ Dante's own words protest his absolute innocence, and imply that his real offence was his opposition to the attempts of the Neri to subject Florence to the domination of the Pope.

"Thou shalt leave everything beloved most tenderly ; and this is that arrow which the bow of exile first shoots forth. Thou shalt experience how the bread of others savours of salt, and how hard a path the descending and the mounting by another's stairs."²

Del Lungo has said that, with these lines, "Dante has made his sufferings immortal in the heart of humanity". The precise meaning of what follows is disputed :—

"And that which most will weigh upon thy shoulders will be the evil and senseless company with which thou shalt fall into this valley, which all ungrateful, all mad and impious, will become against thee ; but short while after it, not thou, shall have the brow stained red therefrom. Of its brutishness its proceedings will supply the proof, so that it will be well for thee to have made thee a party for thyself."³

The question at issue is the length of time covered by these lines describing the poet's relations and rupture with his fellow exiles. After the two sentences passed against him at the beginning of 1302, the only documentary evidence of his association with them is of 8 June of that year, when, at San Godenzo, Dante with eight others represents his party in making the alliance with the Ubaldini to wage war upon Florence. In a similar document of 18 June, 1303, his name no longer appears in the long list of those who, under the leadership of Scarpetta degli Ordellaffi, signed an agreement with their allies in Bologna. It is therefore a plausible hypothesis that the rupture—which, according to two early commentators, was caused by an accusation of treachery brought against Dante in consequence of the failure of an enterprise of which he had counselled the postponement—and the forming of a party for himself took place between these two dates. The disaster, to which Cacciaguida refers, may be taken as the unsuccessful attempt to enter Florence from La Lastra in the summer of 1304. We have no documentary evidence of Dante's movements be-

¹ See Barbadoro, *op. cit.*

² *Par.*, xvii. 55-60.

³ *Ibid.*, 61-69.

tween June, 1302, and October, 1306,¹ when he appears as guest and ambassador of the Malaspina in Lunigiana (the supposed document attesting his presence at Padua in the latter year probably refers to another person). And after 1306 we know no more with certainty, until he pays his homage to the Emperor elect, Henry of Luxemburg, early in 1311. The usual interpretation, then, takes these lines as covering only the first few months of his exile. Del Lungo, on the other hand, holds that Dante, after withdrawing from participation in the active measures of the Bianchi, remained in Tuscany or near at hand, waiting. Although he had “*fatta parte per se stesso*,” they were still the party whose victory would mean his return to Florence. According to this view, these lines cover some six years thus passed (1302-1307), until, in the latter year, the exiles assembled for the last time at Arezzo, and then, in the words of Dino Compagni, “departed all forlorn, and never assembled again”.

The answer to the question depends in part upon how we understand the lines that follow :—

“Thy first refuge, thy first hostelry, will be the courtesy of the great Lombard, who bears the holy bird upon the ladder, who towards thee shall have so kindly a regard that, of performing and of asking, between him and thee, that will be first which among others is the slower. With him shalt thou see the one who at his birth was so impressed by this mighty star that notable shall be his deeds.”

And Cacciaguida continues with the splendid panegyric of Can Grande, a boy of nine years old at the assumed date of the vision—the panegyric, so closely corresponding with the dedicatory letter of the *Paradiso*, and culminating in the mysterious prophecy of his future achievements, which seem to suggest those of the *Veltro*, the coming deliverer of Italy and the political saviour of mediæval society.²

The majority of commentators understand by *il gran lombardo* Bartolommeo della Scala, who held the lordship of Verona from 1301 until his death in March, 1304. On this assumption, Dante would have taken refuge in Verona immediately after his rupture with his fellow-exiles, and would have had no concern, even indirectly, with their later vicissitudes. Del Lungo and Torraca hold that the person indicated is Bartolommeo's brother and successor, Albuino

¹ Cf. *Purg.*, viii. 133-139.

² *Ibid.*, 70-93.

della Scala, who ruled in Verona until October, 1311, and almost from the beginning associated his younger brother Can Grande, a mere youth, with him as the commander of his troops. This would agree with the view that the previous lines cover the whole period of the struggle of the Bianchi to return to Florence, Dante perhaps finding his first refuge at Verona after the final dissolution of the party in 1307. The question is too complicated a one to discuss here, and the evidence hardly permits of a definite decision between the two theories.¹

We may find, I think, unconscious autobiography on Dante's part in the portrait of Romeo of Villanova, the righteous statesman of Provence, unjustly called to give an account of his stewardship, and thereafter wandering in self-chosen exile and poverty; Romeo, whom the poet has placed by the side of Justinian in the sphere of Mercury, among "the good spirits who have been active in order that honour and fame may follow them":—

"Within the present pearl shines the light of Romeo, whose great and goodly work was ill-requited. But the Provençals, who wrought against him, have prospered not, and therefore he treadeth ill who turns another's good deeds to his own loss. Four daughters, and each a queen, had Raymond Berengar, and this for him did Romeo, a lowly man and pilgrim. And then malignant words moved him to demand a reckoning from this just man, who had rendered him seven and five for ten. Thereupon he departed, poor and aged; and, if the world could know the heart he had, as he begged his life morsel by morsel, though much it praise him, it would praise him more."²

"The heart he had," *il cor ch'elli ebbe*: not of course his sorrow, but his unshaken magnanimity of spirit in adversity, saying like the English poet: "I am the master of my fate; I am the captain of my soul". The analogy is striking between the mysterious pilgrim who came to Count Raymond's court and the greater pilgrim who has canonised him in the *Divina Commedia*. In the Romeo of the legend, passing away with his mule and staff and scrip as mysteriously

¹ It involves among other things the precise bearing of an apparently uncomplimentary reference to Albuino in the *Convivio* and the problem of the authenticity of the Letter to Cardinal Niccolò da Prato attributed to Dante.

² *Par.*, vi. 127-142.

as he came, there was seemingly no trace of vain glory or shadow of ambition to cause him to win a lower grade in Paradise. But to Dante, that zealous searcher into the secret things of the human spirit, this righteous indignation at being called to render an account may have seemed an excessive sensitiveness for the man's own reputation, a sudden revelation of the earthly strain in the character.¹ Dante admits in himself the failing that was that of the spirits in this sphere, at the beginning of the *Monarchia*, where he purposes to extract from its recesses the knowledge of temporal monarchy, not only that he "may keep vigil for the good of the world," but also that he "may be the first to win for his own glory the palm of so great a prize".² And it is clear that he creates the figure of Romeo and interprets his life in the light of his own experience. The same unjust charges of malversation in office were made against himself. The *mendicando sua vita a frusto a frusto*, which seems to be the poet's own addition to the legend of Romeo's passing into obscurity, corresponds only too well with the *peregrino quasi mendicando* with which he describes his own wanderings.³ We may pursue the analogy further, and find the corresponding expression of *il cor ch'elli ebbe*, the heart that Dante had, in the famous letter to the Florentine friend, refusing to return to Florence under humiliating conditions, and speculate whether even that noble utterance, reviewed by the poet from his celestial watch-tower of contemplation, might not have revealed to him something of the same spirit as appeared in Romeo's magnanimous shaking the dust of Provence from off his feet.

It is profoundly impressive to observe the contrast in tone in the *Divina Commedia*, when, instead of apology, it becomes confession. The proud sense of political righteousness yields throughout to an intense spiritual humility. We have only to compare the lines spoken by Cacciaguida or Brunetto Latini with those uttered by Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise, where Dante for shame cannot meet her eyes.⁴ The famous passage in the Letter to Can Grande—defending the power of the human intellect to be so exalted in this life as to transcend the measure of humanity, and rebuking (by the example of

¹ I owe this suggestion to Dr. Wicksteed's note in the Temple Classics *Paradiso*.

² *Mon.*, i. 1.

³ *Conv.*, i. 3.

⁴ *Purg.*, xxx. 103-145, xxxi. 1-69.

for inclusion in the succeeding volumes of the catalogue, by one of the Assistant-Keepers of Manuscripts.

The present volumes are the work of Dr. Montague Rhodes James, one of the most distinguished authorities in this field of investigation, who has rendered a valuable service, not only to the Library, but to scholarship, by undertaking the work in spite of many other more pressing and more legitimate claims upon his time. By so doing Dr. James has greatly enhanced the value and interest of the manuscripts themselves.

The two volumes, in royal quarto, are published at four guineas net, a price which is much below the cost of production.

It is our intention to print, from time to time, in these pages, hand-lists, consisting of brief descriptive notes of the rarer, and in some cases unrecorded, works which are to be found in the Library's collections of manuscripts.

TEMPORARY HAND-
LISTS OF
OTHER
RARE
MANU-
SCRIPTS.

One of our reasons for adopting this plan is that we find it impossible to proceed with the printing of the full descriptive catalogues, several of which are ready for the press, whilst the present prohibitive cost of printing and book production prevails.

In order, therefore, that students, interested in the subjects with which these manuscripts deal, should not be penalised by being kept in ignorance of their presence in the library, we propose, by this means, to call attention to works of great rarity and importance, which would otherwise remain, at least for the present, buried and unknown.

The present instalment of these notes deals with some of the rarer or unique texts, under the heading Theology, to be found in the collection of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, which comprises upwards of two thousand volumes.

It may not be out of place again to remind students that Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., late of Peover Hall, Cheshire, has deposited in this library, on loan for an indefinite period, for the use of students, his interesting collection of manuscripts, which includes many early charters, and other materials relating to the county of Cheshire. The Mainwaring family had been seated at Peover ever since the Conquest, and had the good fortune to possess State papers, diaries, household books, and literary papers of the seventeenth century, besides a vast quantity of deeds and evidences relating to their lands, which cannot fail to be

THE MAIN-
WARING
CHARTERS
AND
OTHER
MANU-
SCRIPTS.

of interest to students of the history of the period covered by them. Many of the Peover deeds are of the time of Edward III, whilst five hundred of them are earlier than the reign of Henry VIII, the earliest of all consisting of charters granted, in the twelfth century, by Earls of Chester.

We hope to commence, in an early issue of the "Bulletin," the publication of a hand-list of these interesting and important documents.

We should be glad to undertake the safe custody, under similar conditions, of any other collections of manuscripts, especially those relating to the North of England, or in the possession of families connected with that area, which the owners are either unable or unwilling to dispose of, and for which they are no longer able to provide suitable housing accommodation.

OFFER TO
ACCEPT
CUSTODY
OF LOCAL
MSS.

At the present time, when so many estates are being broken up, and old family residences are being relinquished and the contents dispersed, there is a grave danger lest valuable documents of great historic interest, the importance of which may not yet have been realised, should be lost sight of, and perhaps be accidentally destroyed with the so-called lumber which so often accumulates in great houses, or be stored temporarily, for want of better accommodation, in unsuitable buildings, where they are likely to suffer irreparable damage from damp and neglect.

It is for this reason that we venture to offer not only the hospitality of the Library, but the services of the staff in caring for and arranging such collections, so that they might be accessible to students, under the customary safeguards, whilst they remain in our custody.

We shall be glad to advise owners of such collections in the matter of their transfer and treatment.

It will interest many of our readers to learn that the Assyriological library of the late Canon C. H. W. Johns, D.Litt., D.D., sometime Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, whose death, on the 20th of August, 1920, was a serious blow to that department of Oriental research in which his pre-eminence was everywhere recognised, has been presented, by his express desire, to Queen's College, Cambridge, where it is available for use by any student of Assyriology visiting Cambridge.

THE LIB-
RARY OF
THE LATE
CANON
JOHNS.

The library contains, in addition to the valuable collection of

books, a mass of systematized notes, card catalogues and manuscript matter, a small number of tablets and squeezes which students will find most useful for practice in reading Cuneiform.

We are also glad to be able to announce that the collection of "Assyrian deeds and documents in the 7th century, B.C.," of which Canon Johns himself published the first three volumes, is to be continued. Mrs. Johns, at the express desire of her late husband, is to edit and see through the press the fourth volume, which Canon Johns left in manuscript and in an unfinished state. The demand for the forthcoming volume is so great, we are told, that it has been decided to double the issue which had been originally proposed.

Mrs. Johns also hopes to publish a second edition of the first volume of the same work, which has been long out of print and in much demand.

We must not omit gratefully to acknowledge two RECENT GIFTS. other important gifts which the library has received quite recently. The first is from Miss Algerina Peckover, consisting of a manuscript, "Missale Romanum," which was probably written for a church in the diocese of Cologne, in the latter part of the eleventh or the early years of the twelfth century, and later passed into the possession of a church in the Netherlands, probably attached to some nunnery. The few ornamental letters with which the MS. is embellished appear to show traces of the influence of the school of St. Gall. It is in a fifteenth century binding of brown stamped leather over oaken boards, and forms a most welcome addition to the library's collection of liturgical manuscripts.

The other gift is of a different, but none the less welcome, character, taking the form of a cheque, and representing the first gift of money which the library has received apart from the benefactions of the Founder. We are grateful to Miss Winterbottom for this helpful expression of her interest in, and appreciation of, the institution and its work.

The present issue completes the sixth volume of the "Bulletin," and we furnish herewith a title page and list of contents for those of our readers who may wish to preserve their numbers by having them bound.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VERGIL.¹

BY R. S. CONWAY, LITT.D., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

ONE of the most distinguished of living British philosophers once declared that the most which any system of metaphysics could hope to do was to suggest a new point of view. At the moment he was lecturing on the mysterious Hegel ; and though it was twenty-five years ago I still remember the feeling of relief which his declaration produced. Here was a profound student of Hegel, no mean author himself of metaphysical theory, deliberately acknowledging that no philosophic system, however brilliant, could hope to be literally true ; he was content if we recognised that all great systems provided new and fruitful points of view from which the world could be studied. Somewhat in this spirit even those who have no claim to be philosophers may still, perhaps, discern something in a great poet which it is not unreasonable to describe as a philosophy, pervading his mature work. It certainly does not amount to a metaphysical system ; but it does seem to open to us a rather striking point of view. All lovers of Vergil know the lines in Tennyson's address to him, and we all recognise their truth—

Thou that seest universal nature moved by universal mind,
Thou majestic in thy sadness at the doubtful doom of humankind.

Behind and beneath these two conceptions which Tennyson ascribes to Vergil there was a certain mental attitude which I should like to make clear, if I can.

The theory is submitted to criticism with some diffidence, yet in the conviction that it is at least true so far as it goes, and that it co-ordinates and explains many features in Vergil's work, both in his style and in his thought.

The attitude which we are to study is that which I believe Vergil

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 10 November, 1920.

to have held in the maturity of his powers, that is, in the part of his life occupied in writing the *Georgics* and the *Æneid*. Nothing therefore need be said here about the sympathy with Epicurean teaching which, as we all know, marked Vergil's youth. On the other hand his relation to Stoicism will naturally come into view.

Let me begin by remarking a general fact about Vergil which is too little realised. We are apt to regard him merely as what he became, the truest and most complete representative known to us of Roman life. Yet when we compare him with the writers of his own day and of the preceding generation, I think it is true to say that in one respect he stands apart from them all, namely in the depth of his knowledge of Greek writers, and the eagerness with which he seeks to infuse his own account of things Roman and Italian with a spirit drawn directly from Greek sources. A simple example is the deliberate way in which (to the confusion of some modern critics) he has continually coupled Greek and Italian folklore in the *Georgics*. At the outset¹ the Greek wood nymphs, the Dryads, are invited to join the dance of purely Italian deities, the Fauns;² and Pan, the Greek god of the Arcadian hills, is to come and take part with Silvanus, a typically Italian figure. So in the charming passage³ describing the farmers' festival, purely Italian fashions like those of the sacred masks (*oscilla*) hung on fruit trees to swing with the wind, appear side by side with Greek rites in the worship of Bacchus associated with the Greek drama. I need hardly even remind the reader of the countless passages in the *Æneid* where Vergil has adapted to his purpose some incident or utterance of Greek poetry. Let me rather ask attention to one or two more general characteristics of his attitude.

There were deeply imprinted on Vergil's mind some of the most typical of all Greek habits of thought. The late Mr. A. W. Benn, in his brilliant survey of *The Philosophy of Greece*⁴ pointed out two features, closely related, which appear in almost all Greek systems of

¹ *Georgics*, I., 11 ff. "It is rather striking that Pan is appealed to by his love for his own Arcadia (*tua si tibi Maenala curae*). If he loves Arcadia he must needs love Italy's woodlands too. There is the same pride in Italy shown in the next passage referred to; Italy has the Bacchic festival too as well as Greece (*nec non Ausoniæ*)."
[W. B. A.]

² On Faunus see Warde Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 259.

³ *Georgics*, II., 380-396.

⁴ London, 1908.

Philosophy ; one was the dread of extremes, a faith in that most national of all Greek virtues which they called *σωφροσύνη*, a word which we variously, and always unsuccessfully, translate by—"temperance," "moderation," "self-control," "sanity" "sound-mindedness" ; that central firmness and serenity of character which preserves men from being the victims of sudden passion in the world of action or of wild extremes of belief in the world of thought.

The second characteristic, which seems at first less interesting, was the habit of antithesis, of considering things in pairs, such as heat and cold, darkness and light. This in the Greek language is well represented by the humble and everyday particles which, on the threshold of his acquaintance with Greek writers the English schoolboy finds so hard to represent, the simple *μὲν* and *δὲ* "on the one hand," "on the other hand" as he laboriously renders them. I suppose no one ever began to read, say, the speeches of Thucydides without wishing that the Greek affection for these particles had been less pronounced. Yet if we turn to the writings of the tutor of Thucydides, the rhetorician Antiphon, and see how every page is studded with these antithetic points, we realise that Thucydides, even in his most argumentative moments, was probably less given to antithesis for its own sake than was the average Greek speaker of his boyhood.

But what, it will be asked, has this rather quaint peculiarity of Greek diction to do with such serious things as those of which philosophy treats ? The answer is quite simple. Namely, that in almost all Greek philosophers there is an implicit duality of some kind or other. For example, the contrast in Plato between the invisible, real, existing Ideas and the imperfect copies or approximations to them which make up the visible world. Or in Aristotle's *Ethics*, the conception of every virtue as the middle term between two extremes, the virtue of courage, for example, being the middle point between the extremes of cowardice on the one hand and rashness on the other. In earlier systems we recall the Mind which Anaxagoras conceived as imposing order on Chaos ; or the two principles of Love and Strife, centripetal and centrifugal forces, which Empedocles regarded as governing the physical as well as the human world. These examples will be enough to show that the characteristic Greek habit of thinking and speaking in antitheses was not merely a trick of words but corresponded to something quite substantial in the Greek view of

things. Most of us who have any interest in Philosophy know how striking and impressive a revival was given to this kind of antithesising by the speculations of Hegel with his fundamental proposition that every notion implies and generates its opposite.

To these two characteristics of the Greek temper we may add a third which everyone will recognise, a certain childlike capacity for wonder—a standing readiness for new experiment, the virtue of perpetual hope and youth in the sphere of thought. This was the most engaging thing about Socrates, and Socrates in this was a typical¹ Greek. There was no problem which he was not prepared to discuss in the hope that careful study of its conditions might reveal new light ; and the same refreshing candour in discussing first principles meets us on every page of Greek Tragedy. In Homer, though it is not common in the political sphere, it is very marked in Odysseus and lies indeed almost at the root of his character ; as Dante saw in that famous Twenty-sixth Canto of the *Inferno* which represents Odysseus as meeting his end through continually pressing forward to explore new tracts of ocean and win new knowledge of humanity ; a conception which Tennyson's *Ulysses* has made familiar to English readers.

Now I think it may be maintained that all these three characteristics of the Greek spirit are more deeply marked in Vergil than in any other Roman. First the reverence for self-control, secondly the habit of wonder, and thirdly the method of looking at things from a dual, antithetic standpoint.

On the first, Vergil's hatred of extremes, and love of self-control, I need say little. It was shared, as we all know, by his intimate friend Horace, though perhaps the Golden Mean, which Horace so faithfully celebrates, did not signify quite all that Vergil meant by *servare modum*²—‘keeping the limit’. We need only recall in passing the contrast on which the whole story of the *Æneid* is based ; that Æneas does learn to practice self-control, to sacrifice his own private hopes and desires to the call of duty, even in the hardest case where it bade him abandon his love for Dido. But his brilliant rival Turnus never will make the sacrifice. He is *violentus* from first to last, passionate, reckless and contemptuous of any law or promise that would interfere with his own wild, impulsive will. For example,

¹ Compare Plato, *Theæt.*, 155D. [W. B. A.]

² *Æneid*, X., 502.

he broke through the fixed custom of what the ancient world counted honourable warfare by stripping the armour from the body of the lad Pallas whom he had slain, and making it his own instead of dedicating it to a god ; and he persists in his suit for Lavinia's hand in defiance both of her father and of what he himself confessed was the command of Heaven.

Nor again, need we stay to note examples of the eager, child-like wonder, merged in a deeper sense of mystery,¹ which was constantly in Vergil's mind as he looked upon the affairs of the world. The only remark that I will add on these two characteristics is this : that they may be both regarded as connected with the third, namely, the habit of looking at things from antithetic standpoints. For the self-control, which the Greeks loved, is a compromise in practice between contrasted motives of action ; and the mysticism, which is a continual sense of wonder unsolved, may be regarded as a kind of spiritual compromise between contrasted views of the truth.

But it is the third point which I am now mainly concerned to examine, Vergil's antithetic or dualistic habit of mind. It is so characteristic of his thought that it has left a marked impress on his style ; and it may well be that when it is once stated, it may seem to be so commonplace a matter as hardly to deserve a name, much less any long discussion. If the reader does so recognise it, and admit its reality, I shall be only too pleased. But then I must ask him to add it to the characteristics of Vergil's poetry which it is desirable for all Vergil's readers to understand ; for, unless I am greatly mistaken, you will not find it stated in any of the commentaries.

Vergil² could never be content to see a fact, or a feeling, or an event, in which he was interested, as something which stood by itself. He instinctively sought for some complementary, some companion fact, to set beside the first. We may dismiss briefly one large group of these pairs, since it is not characteristic of Vergil only, the cases

¹ On this I may refer to my *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, pp. 35 ff.

² This paper is deeply indebted throughout, and especially in the passage which follows, to the wise and generous criticism of my colleague Prof. W. B. Anderson, Litt.D., to whom I owe not merely the notes marked with his initials but a great deal of other help which has purged away many defects.

where the second fact involves no clear contrast, only a reinforcement of the original statement; such as *Italiam Lavinaque litora*, 'Italy and the Lavinian shore'. It resembles very strongly the habit of parallel statement in Hebrew poetry, so familiar to us in the Psalms (*He hath founded it upon the seas and stablished it upon the floods*); and in this some scholars see evidence of a direct acquaintance on Vergil's part with some of the Jewish Scriptures. Be that as it may, this duality of mere confirmation is not what I am concerned to examine now.

But there is an interesting set of cases on which something must be said, though I should myself refer them to the same class. In all of them Vergil mentions a natural cause for some event side by side with a divine cause, and he gives us to understand that both causes are true; so that if we are to give a name to this we must call it not "supernatural" but rather "internatural". When Nisus opens to Euryalus his daring project to leave the Trojan camp by night and make his way through the enemy's forces and take word of their danger to Æneas, he asks Euryalus, 'Is it the gods who inspire us with such ardour as I feel now, or does each of us make his own desires into a god?'¹ Here the parallel is put in the form of a question.

But I have noted well over a score of examples where the parallelism is positive and complete, though here I must mention only a few. Perhaps the most explicit case is in the Fall of Troy in Book II. of the *Æneid*,² where Æneas has his eyes opened by Venus, so that instead of walls and houses crumbling in fire or before the assaults of the Greeks, he sees the hostile deities actually at work, Pallas with her thunder-cloud and Gorgon-shield, Neptune with his trident, themselves crushing the doomed city into dust.³

In the battle, in the Tenth Book of the *Æneid*,⁴ Æneas only just escapes destruction from a band of seven brothers, who are all attacking him at once, because 'some of their darts are beaten back

¹ IX., 184.

² 603-616.

³ "That is how Venus in her vindictive way has described them. But all that Æneas himself relates is that:—

Dread forms appear

And mighty powers of heaven hating Troy."—[W. B. A.].

⁴ X., 328-331.

from his shield and helmet,' and 'some are turned aside from grazing him by his divine mother'. In the same Book, the reader wonders why the two young warriors Pallas and Lausus never meet in conflict, and Vergil gives two reasons; first¹ that their supporters on each side crowd up so thickly that neither hands nor weapons can be used; and then (four lines further on) that 'the ruler of great Olympus has forbidden them to meet; each will soon find his fate before a greater foe'. At the end of the Eleventh Book² we learn that Turnus deserts the ambush, which he has laid for Æneas, in anger at the news of the death of Camilla. But Vergil adds 'and so the cruel will of Jove demanded'. Just as in the Second Book, the Wooden Horse, which the Trojans themselves are dragging with enthusiasm into their city, is said to arrive there by 'fate' (*fatalis machina*).³

So earlier in the same book the cause of the fall of Troy is given⁴ doubly; 'the fates of the gods and the Trojans' own minds' were both bent to destruction. Destiny had decreed that Troy must fall; the Trojans fulfilled this destiny by their cowardice in leaving Laocoon to perish unaided—their panic is four times⁵ mentioned—and by interpreting his death as due to his wicked daring, not to their own folly.

The same double thought appears in the taunt of Remulus to the Trojans, 'What god, what madness, drove you to the shores of Italy?'⁶

Above all in the crowning scene of the defeat of Turnus, at the end of the poem, the action of fate, in the shape of the small bird, which Turnus takes for an evil omen,⁷ is put side by side with the inward reproach⁸ of Turnus' own conscience, which he avows after he has fallen. 'I deserve it, I confess' are his first words then. The two causes are almost explicitly identified in the lines in which Vergil tells us first that the 'dread goddess' (that is, the bird by which Turnus is daunted) 'denies him success wherever his valour seeks it'; and then that 'his breast is full of conflicting thoughts, he glances towards the city, hesitates, and then turns to cast his dart, and cannot decide whether to fly or to attack'.⁹

This frequent suggestion, that the will of heaven is, after all, carried out by the action of human beings moved by motives which

¹ X., 432 f.² XI., 901.³ II., 237.⁴ II., 54.⁵ II., 200, 212, 228, 244.⁶ IX., 601.⁷ XII., 862-868.⁸ XII., 894-895 and 931.⁹ XII., 913-917.

they think their own, is characteristic of Vergil's treatment of the whole idea of Providence, and shows some affinity with the Stoic doctrine of the identity of Jove and Fate.¹ But from our present point of view it is only a conspicuous illustration of Vergil's habit of regarding the same thing from more than one standpoint.

But take now a more sharply cut type of this duality, where the two points of view are not identical or even parallel, but definitely contrasted and hostile, so that we feel a certain surprise and are conscious not of two parts of a single fact but apparently of two conflicting if not quite contradictory experiences. In a word, Vergil seems to strike two notes which make not a harmony but a discord. The result is an incongruity which is either amusing or pathetic or both; and sometimes we cannot tell whether humour or pathos is uppermost. Take first an absolutely simple example, so simple that perhaps it may seem almost childish to dwell on it. Among other instructions to the bee-keeper for choosing a place for his beehive Vergil warns him that it must not be near the nests of swallows. Why? Because they will carry off the bees to feed their young. Now how does Vergil describe² this most annoying procedure on the part of the swallows?

Ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam.

Now I venture to think that no other Latin poet, and perhaps no other poet that I can name, of any nation, would have worded this statement quite in that way. It would have been natural for him, one thinks, to write *facilem* instead of *dulcem*—'an easy prey for their cruel nestlings'. That would have enforced the point, namely, the greediness of the baby swallows and the consequent danger to the bees. But it may be objected that *dulcem* for this purpose is just as good as *facilem*; 'a sweet morsel' is just as likely to tempt the

¹ Compare Prof. E. V. Arnold's remark (*Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 390). "Vergil, however, appears truly to hold the Stoic principle that Fate and Jove are one; he thus takes us at once to the final problem of philosophy, the reconciliation of the conceptions of Law formed on the one hand by observing facts (the modern 'Laws of Nature') and on the other hand by recognising the moral instinct (the modern 'Moral Law'). . . . Vergil shows us how they may be in practice reconciled by a certain attitude of mind; and that attitude is one of resignation to and co-operation with the supreme power."

² *Georgics*, IV., 17.

swallows as an 'easily captured' one. True ; but what has Vergil done by choosing *dulcem* ? We shall see at once if for the word *immitibus* we substitute a more common epithet of young birds, say, *crepitantibus* 'twittering, clamorous'. What should we have then ? 'A sweet morsel for their clamouring (i.e. hungry) young'. If Vergil had written that, you would have seen clearly that he was expressing sympathy with the swallows and that he had forgotten to be sorry for the bees. But by using both the word *dulcem* and the word *immitibus*, 'a sweet morsel for their cruel nestlings,' Vergil expresses his sympathy first with the swallows and then with the bees, in one and the same line, much to the schoolboy's perplexity. He does the same thing in the passage where he exhorts the farmer to clear away the long-standing wood and make the land subject to the plough.¹ What is the result ? The 'newly conquered land gleams with the sheen of the ploughshare' ; but the birds have had to leave their ancient homes and fly aloft deserting their young. There is no doubt of Vergil's meaning. This is the farmer's duty ; but all the same it is a tragedy for the birds. So in the fine simile at the beginning of the Twelfth Book of the *Æneid*, where Turnus is compared to a lion who is wounded but turns at bay and breaks the shaft that has struck him, our sympathy is clearly meant to be roused for the lion's victims ; but we are to admire and be sorry for the lion himself. For how is the man who has shot him described ? The shaft which the lion breaks is called the shaft of a *latro*, 'a brigand,'² a highwayman who has invaded the lion's country, and set an ambush and forced him to fight. One might search through a goodly number of lion-hunting stories without finding one in which the hunter is described as a 'brigand'. So again in the *Georgics*,³ where Vergil is telling the farmer to dip his sheep again and again in the health-giving river (*fluvio mersare salubri*), how does he describe the sheep who are to be dipped ? They are the 'bleating creatures' (*balantum gregem*) ; and the two contrasted words *balantum* and *salubri* bring before us the whole scene—the terror of the sheep at being seized and dragged to the pool, and the noise they make when the turn of each comes. The epithet 'bleating' suddenly gives us the sheep's point of view instead of the shepherd's, and gives it, of course, with a smile, caught up at

¹ *Georgics*, II., 207-211.

² *Æneid*, XII., 7.

³ I., 272.

once by the word *salubri* which shows how benevolent the shepherds are, whatever the sheep may think.

In all these cases Vergil practises a kind of brief quotation, a sort of suppressed "oratio obliqua". He describes part of the scene for a moment, as it appeared to the eyes of one of the actors in it. It is this which makes the story of the competitors in the Games¹ so fresh and full of life; every one of them, in this way or that, is somehow allowed to present his own case; and we follow the rising and falling fortunes of each in sympathy quite as much with those who fail as with those who win.

In the larger lines of the story of the *Æneid* everyone will remember how continually it is shaped as a dialogue² between two actors, very rarely more than two; for example, between Jove and Venus, or between Dido and Ilioneus, in the First Book. And it is not only in the dialogues that this antithetic habit appears. The action is continually shared by two leading characters at a time, each presented to us with almost equal sympathy. Illustration is really needless.³ But we may glance at one typical scene, that between Juno and Venus in the celestial debate in Book X. The book opens upon an assembly of the gods which has been summoned by Jove, who hopes to persuade the rival partisans to come to an agreement and so to end the war in Latium without further bloodshed. When Jove has stated the situation, and mildly deprecated their quarrel, Venus breaks in with a long plea on behalf of the Trojans, appealing to the oracles of Fate which had been so often declared to *Æneas*. Why, she asks, has Jove permitted the resistance of the Latins? Why are the Latins allowed to attack the camp just when *Æneas* has gone to seek help from Evander? Why must her dear Trojans be for ever in danger? The plea, like most of the speeches of Venus, is pathetic and ingenious rather than forceful; and it is not without covert allusions to Juno, as the source of the mischief, though Juno is not expressly named, but only described as 'she'—the guilty 'she'

¹ *Æneid* V., for instance in the ship-race, 150-243.

² He had of course many examples before him, especially the frequent pairs of speeches in Homer, Thucydides and Greek Tragedy, as Prof. Anderson reminds me.

³ The poet's intense sympathy with both *Æneas* and Dido in Book IV. is of course the most striking example; see *Great Inheritance*, pp. 149 ff.

who had sent Iris from the clouds to encourage Turnus to fight, and raised the fury Allecto from hell to incite the Latins. By this complaint Juno is roused to great anger and replies ¹ fiercely and directly to Venus, altogether forgetting "to address the chair". A rough paraphrase will show the character of her speech; and it is really well to ask the reader to recollect that Æneas is Vergil's hero:—

Then hotly moved
 Queen Juno spake: 'Why wilt thou have me break
 Deep silence, and proclaim the wrath I veiled?
 Did god or man compel Æneas now
 To challenge war in Italy, or rouse
 The King's resistance? Oracles, forsooth,
 And mad Cassandra's ravings, drave him on
 To Italy? So be it; did they too
 Bid him desert his men and put to sea,
 Disturb the loyal peace of Tuscan tribes,
 And leave a boy in charge of camp and war?
 What cruel power of heaven or mine constrained him?
 What share had I? What rainbow-messenger
 Prompted such folly? Dost thou count it crime
 If Latin hands gird yon new Troy with flames,
 Or Turnus fight to save his fatherland?
 What censure hast thou then for Trojan hordes
 Seizing Italian fields and driving cattle
 And flinging deadly brands on Latin towns?
 Choosing new kin, they drag affianced brides
 From lawful husbands, humbly sue for peace
 But nail upon their prows the badge of war.

Why hast thou stirred a city big with battle,
 Kindling fierce hearts? Was I concerned to sink
 Your fallen fortunes deeper in the dust?
 I? or the man who threw unhappy Troy
 Into Greek hands to spoil? Where lay the guilt
 That mingled continent with continent
 In war, and broke their treaties by a theft?
 Did I take Paris into Spartan homes?
 Did I breed war and give it Love for food?
 'Twas then thou shouldst have taken thought to save
 Thy darlings; now too late thy anger flames,
 In taunts that lost their meaning long ago'.

This eloquent protest did not convince Jupiter, who is merely grieved at the continued hostility of the rival goddesses, and dismisses

¹ *Æneid*, X., 62-95.

the assembly of the gods as useless. Fate must do its work without their help. But Juno's speech has had at least one success; it has deceived no less a critic than Prof. Saintsbury into thinking that its rhetorical statement about Lavinia, where Juno speaks of 'dragging brides from their lawful husbands,' really corresponded to the facts, instead of being a partisan misrepresentation. Lavinia, of course, was never betrothed¹ to Turnus, but was solemnly betrothed to Æneas. We will not, therefore, follow Prof. Saintsbury quite so far; but we may at least agree that the case against Æneas and the Trojans is vigorously and sympathetically presented.

Observe further that this antithetic, dramatic habit of Vergil's mind, his way of quickly changing from the point of view of one of his characters to the view taken by some one else (who is perhaps an enemy) continually gives an undertone of humour even to the dignified story of the Epic. In the most solemn of all the Books, that which describes the Descent into the Underworld, what restrained amusement colours the picture of old Charon with his soiled raiment and unkempt hair—but with the green and fresh old age—of what? Of a god.² Or of the Sibyl, who has always "a threat upon her lips but a concession in her heart". One feels that Vergil, "in his shy way," is looking at the old-world figure of the priestess, both as she appeared to Æneas and as the professional dealer in oracles appeared to the critical student of human history in Vergil's own day. There is, indeed, one line in the *Æneid* which amounts to direct and bitter satire; satire of a kind, which, if it had occurred in a Christian poet, would have been regarded as something like blasphemy. In the Twelfth Book, who is the leader of the Latins who persuades them to refuse to let Turnus fight in single combat, and who thus makes them break the truce to which their king has solemnly sworn? It is the augur Tolumnius. He had seen what he took for a portent; a flock of swans forcing an eagle to release one of their number whom it was carrying off. This the swans did by flying above the eagle and pressing³ him down by mere weight of numbers. Tolumnius cries out with pious exultation: 'This, this is what I have prayed

¹ Except perhaps in virtue of Amata's *ius maternum* (*Æn.* 7, 402), which probably meant more in primitive Latium than at Rome (*Æn.* xi. 340); see Brit. Acad. Proceedings III. (*Who were the Romans?*) p. 16.

² VI., 304.

³ XII., 259.

for again and again ; I recognise and accept heaven's answer to my prayers. Follow me, ye Latins, and grasp your swords.' And he goes on to promise them, in virtue of his sacred authority, that the wicked invader, namely Æneas, shall be routed by their united effort, just as the eagle has been routed by the troop of swans. What is the sequel ? When the battle has begun Tolumnius himself¹ is slain. Such was the answer to his prayer.

I must not linger on these examples of Vergil's keen sense of the incongruous ; but I cannot leave altogether unmentioned the strange case of the young Ascanius—though if anyone pleads that it is even more natural than strange, I can hardly demur. Somehow Vergil never seems to mention Ascanius without a smile. Think of him first in the Sack of Troy, while his parents are weeping because his grandfather will not leave their home to escape the approaching flames ; the child, of course, is only half conscious of the trouble. But it is on him that the miraculous sign appears, ' a harmless halo of flame plays upon his curls'.² His anxious parents try to extinguish the flame by pouring water over it ; but the old Anchises recognises it as an omen and prepares to depart. Later on when Æneas is carrying his father on his back and his wife follows behind, the little Ascanius holds his hand, ' keeping up with unequal steps,'³ adds Vergil. I wonder how many other poets, in describing such a scene, would have found room to mention the child's short steps. Wordsworth, you will say : but then perhaps Wordsworth might have omitted to mention anything else. Again, when Dido and Æneas ride out to their fateful hunt in the woods,⁴ each attended by stately troops of followers, it is clear that the one person in the whole multitude who is full of pure delight is the boy Ascanius, ' riding on a swift horse leaving behind now one band of comrades, now another, and longing that he may have (not mere stags to hunt but) some foaming boar or tawny lion from the Libyan hills' ; his bright figure is like a gleam of sunshine across the lurid sky. Or again take the scene in Book V. when the desponding old ladies of the Trojan host in Sicily have been evilly inspired to set fire to the ships, so as to put an end to their wanderings. News is brought to the warriors who are absorbed in the Games, and Ascanius at once breaks away from his own part in them and

¹ XII., 461.² II., 683.³ II., 723.⁴ IV., 156-159.

Nabuchodonosor) the carpers who "cry out against the assignment of so great an exaltation because of the sin of the speaker"—justifies us, if the internal evidence of the poem itself be thought insufficient or inconclusive, in taking the *Divina Commedia* as the record of Dante's own spiritual experience. We are surely, then, to regard the *selva oscura* of the opening canto as the symbol of the poet's own moral state, when "so low he fell, that all means for his salvation were already scant, save showing him the folk in Hell".¹ We are to hold that the conversion, through Grace sent by Mercy, of which love was the inspiration and human philosophy the first means, was what he deemed to have been his; that he is the man whose soul, hardly touched by envy, was yet weighed down with the fear of the torment of the proud;² whose eyes were apt to be blinded by wrath, but who yet could be led through that "bitter and foul air" by the voice of reason.³ Though borne up "even to the sphere of fire" by the eagle of the spirit, he yet is tempted to listen for a while to the song of the siren of the flesh.⁴ The immeasurable burning, that purifies the sensual, must be endured by his soul before he can attain the peace of a good conscience in the Earthly Paradise.⁵ Love, the love that a woman had taught him on earth, becomes at last the guide through successive stages of illumination to the divine union; for he, too, even in life, had experienced that "moment of understanding," of which St. Augustine and St. Monica spoke together, here and now, which is the anticipation of the eternal life of the hereafter.

¹ *Purg.*, xxx. 136-138.

² *Ibid.*, xiii. 133-138.

³ *Ibid.*, xvi. 1-15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 30; xix. 10-24

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxvii. 10-51.

THE STUDY OF MEDIÆVAL CHRONICLES.¹

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IT is, I hope, no longer necessary to justify a systematic effort to equip the young historian with the tools of his trade and to show him practically how to use them. Yet though a great deal has been done towards attaining such an end during the last few years, it still remains the case that this country is behind the other great states of the west in the facilities which it provides for teaching students of history how to become historians on their own account. Long ago we have perfected a system of preparing students for examinations in all subjects of academic study. We may proudly boast that our system has nothing like it in France, Germany or America, and that it can only be paralleled in pre-revolutionary China. In some subjects, notably in the experimental sciences, we have supplemented this by training in research, and in many subjects, notably in history, we have slowly but surely provided instruction in the technicalities of the historian's craft and we have always had in our subject the priceless stimulus of the example of master workers, many of whom at least have always shown the utmost willingness to help and encourage the individual investigator. Above all, we have done something—though not enough—towards reducing our triposes and honour schools to their true insignificance as the starting-point, rather than as the chief qualification, for an academic career. The ancient fetish called “order of merit” is now dethroned even in the temples once thronged by its votaries. Professorships are generally, but not I fear always, given to the best worker in his subject rather than to the happy possessor of

¹ This lecture was first delivered in the Arts School at Cambridge, on 6 February, 1920, and was repeated, with trifling alterations, at the John Rylands Library, on 9 November, 1921.

the most "brilliant degree," or the most attractive social gifts. Sometimes, but not I fear very generally, even in elections to college lectureships in the older universities, work done as well as examination record is taken into consideration. Things are really getting on very well and if we really are going to do what, not long ago, was on everybody's lips, namely embarking on a policy of educational reconstruction, we have now a unique opportunity of setting our houses in still better order.

It is gratifying to record that important steps have already been taken to secure this desirable end. Every university has now a scheme for a new degree, called the Doctorate in Philosophy, and the idea underlying it is that the possession of the degree shall indicate that the recipient has not only himself produced a piece of work that shows a recognised standard of scholarship or learning and marks a real advance in the knowledge of the subject studied, but that he has undergone a course of instruction in the methods and technique of his craft, that he can produce original work because he has been taught by masters the conditions under which original work should be done. How far every University is in practice living up to this ideal can only be determined when we have seen what sort of men and women the new degree courses actually turn out. But there is already one regrettable deviation from this ideal to be noted in the fact that the University of London apparently offers this degree to "external students," whose fitness is to be judged simply by the work they offer, and who, so far as I gather, have not necessarily been subject to any instruction at all in the technique of their subject. This is a striking example of the want of uniformity of standard and ideal still prevailing among the British universities. It is much to be hoped that it will be the exception that proves the rule.

The Ph.D. degree is not, of course, one limited to historians, but it meets the wants of the would-be historian in a fashion that is hardly so completely the case in some other subjects within the ken of a faculty of arts. Indeed, the methods of training the historian are in some special ways more analogous to those of the natural sciences rather than to those of many of the more impalpable "humanities". There is in fact no subject, outside the experimental sciences, which lends itself so easily to a course of practical training in technique as history. History gives opportunities for talents of every sort. It

affords a place for the ordinary man or woman to do useful work according to his capacity, while it can involve processes that tax the highest orders of intelligence. And for all alike the initial stages of training are much the same. We have most of us outgrown the old delusion that it is the business of the plodder to transcribe, edit, and calendar, to "prepare the material" on which the gifted historian is to exercise his superior constructive talent. It is only by learning how to lay his tale of bricks faithfully that the real historian learns his trade. And no methodising of teaching can, or ought, to deprive of his natural advantages the scholar who has imagination and insight. But he will never use his gifts if, in his shy cultivation of Clio the muse, he neglects the preliminary drudgery of the apprentice stage. He will remain the gifted amateur, however beautiful his writing, however brilliant his generalisations.

But we must go back to our starting-point, the "historical teaching of history," as Stubbs once called that education of the historian which he dreamt of but despaired of as an impossibility in his own age and in his own university. This is happily no longer the case, and the historian can now learn his trade in England in quite a satisfactory fashion. The real difficulty is that he still does not know in all cases that he has a trade to learn, and that in even most cases those who call upon him to teach history are even more oblivious of this patent fact. Yet it is gratifying to note quite recently some real steps in advance, notably the foundation of the Institute of Historical Research in London which we owe to the energy and foresight of Professor Pollard, and to the subscribers who answered so munificently to his lead. We in Manchester have now for several years been moving quietly in the same direction. If we were able to appeal to the imagination of the rich after the fashion that seems easy in America, possible in London and in West Lancashire, but less simple to all appearances in our own immediate district, we have here the facilities for a great extension of the technical training of the historian beyond what we are at present in a position to offer. Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to chronicle satisfactory if slow progress. And lecturing in this building it is impossible not to bear testimony to the unique resources of the John Rylands Library in affording us the historical materials which are the implements of our trade and to the courtesy and pains which the chief librarian is daily bestowing in his task of

bringing the facilities which the library offers before the students who work in it.

A training in historical method might well begin with lectures on sources, but as this is not a course but a single lecture, I must be content to-day to speak of one particular historical source, the mediæval chronicle. More particularly I wish to call your attention to the chronicles relating to our national history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was the time when the fairest flowers of mediæval culture attained their perfection. Indeed, before the end of the period the historic flowers began to show that dankness of growth which was the first symptom of their degeneration.

The chronicle of the great period of the middle ages is a huge subject. It compels summary and generalized and therefore commonplace treatment. But before we finally plunge *in medias res*, a final preliminary question suggests itself. This is, what is a chronicle?

The safest definition of the mediæval chronicle is the broad one which includes all narrative written for the purpose of conveying information as to the past. In the Middle Ages a few writers busied themselves with subtle distinctions between the chronicle and the history; for example, Gervase, the thirteenth century monk of Canterbury.¹ In more recent times many practitioners of the art called by the Germans *Historik* have discoursed upon the same problem. But for our period, at all events, I can find no solid basis for such refinements. To begin with, we cannot always learn from the books themselves what titles, if any, the authors designed to give to the products of the pen. The modern author has to have a title, because his publisher insists on a title page, but title pages had not been invented in the Middle Ages, and titles themselves are so rare that the only safe way of identifying a manuscript is from its first and last words, its *incipit* and *explicit*. Few mediæval writers were seriously concerned in the choice of a title, and if they had any interest in the matter, they called their books, not according to what they were, but according to what they wished them to be. A modest man might style a real history by the less pretentious title of Chronicle or Annals. A more blatant writer, unconscious of his own limitations, might, on the other hand, give a very grand name to a very jejune and annalistic compila-

tion. The conventionalist took the fashion of his day, while those with some touch of imagination preferred a title that savoured of originality or singularity. There was no prospect of a wide circulation ; no handsome royalties to tempt the mediæval historians to select a striking title. There was no publisher to urge upon him the commercial importance of an arresting label. Moreover, in many cases the titles by which we know mediæval books are the work of transcribers and editors rather than the authors, and some only see the light when the book is printed. How numerous are the mediæval writings, which, like the *Annals* of Tacitus, have titles of later date, destitute of original warranty ? Accordingly, before we can properly discuss the significance of a mediæval title, we must painfully ascertain whether it is due to the editor or to the author. And it is only the more meticulous and up-to-date editor who gives us the material for doing this. Not to labour further at a trivial point, I need only record my profound conviction that mediæval writers used the three terms chronicles, annals, and histories absolutely indiscriminately. When an author wanted a particular title he chose something fanciful. He styled his book *Flowers of History*, *Chronographia*, or *Polychronicon*, or something that sounds big. But when a good title "took on," it became a fashion. Thus we may speak with Stubbs of the "Age of the Flores," and of the transition in the fourteenth century to the "Age of the Polychronicon". This process was the easier, since there was no copyright in titles or in anything else. The flowers of history, planted by Roger Wendover in the fair historical garden at St. Albans, still blossomed, though attaining a smaller size and emitting a less fragrant odour when transplanted to the convent garden of Westminster. They did not entirely revive even when recultivated under the southern skies of Languedoc by Bernard Guy, Bishop of Lodève, the critical and scholarly author of the *Flores Chronicorum*.

Let us turn from the name to the thing. What we have to deal with is the chronicle in this wider sense, the narrative history, compiled under the conditions of the Middle Ages. It begins when the decay of the Romano-Greek conception of an elaborate literary history was drowned, like so much of ancient civilisation, in the flood of barbarism that reduced the Roman Empire to a tradition, an ideal, and a name. But as this submersion was never complete, the

historical literary tradition lingered on even in the darkest ages. Indeed, there were chronicles before and after the Middle Ages, for the human mind always works in certain definite directions, and we must not differentiate too meticulously mediæval man from his predecessors and his successors. Still we may generally speak of the mediæval chronicle as broadly a type. This type gradually assumed its permanent characteristics. It attained its maximum capacity between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. It was in full decline in the fifteenth century. It ended when the renascence of ancient ideals and the growth of modern conditions of existence made chronicle reading wearisome to the cultivated reader and the composition of a chronicle an unpractical way of communicating historical information.

The chronicle was never in its essence a literary form, for in the Dark Ages few men had interest or care for letters, and when the twelfth century renascence ushered in the true Middle Ages—the progressive, intellectually active, and artistically sensitive Middle Ages—men of learning and education were so overwhelmed by the flood of scientific specialism that dominated the universities that they cared little for humanism, and set more store on matter than on form, on telling what they wanted to say rather than on the manner of telling it. Most chroniclers wrote badly, some from natural stupidity and carelessness, some from indifference to anything approaching canons of style. But some wrote well and achieved literary success without much conscious effort to secure it, while many had that style which comes from directness, sincerity, clarity of vision and strength of imagination. But their object in general was not a piece of composition but to fulfil a practical need, to supply information, or to prove some case. Sometimes, indeed, the information they sought to convey was not exactly the fact as it had happened. They wrote for many other reasons besides a pure love of truth. The chronicler had to defend his patron, his abbey, his country, his government, his party, his class, or himself. Yet the very nature of his purpose not uncommonly put him in the way of obtaining access to first-hand sources of information. Even a non-historical purpose did not prevent him communicating to his readers much that was perfectly true.

It is the variety of the chronicler's inspiration that makes his output so instructive to us. There was the motive of religious edification which has robbed so much of hagiography of any relation to reality.

There were, too, other sorts of edification which were far from being religious. There was the "official history". Official history, such as in France emanated in various ages from Saint Denis, told the story, not as it had occurred, but as apologists for a policy wished it to have happened. There was, too, the family history, compiled to glorify a hero or to demonstrate the antiquity of a newly arrived stock. Corporate feeling vied with family pride in falsifying truth. There was the history of a university, which must vindicate its respectability by going back to an age which knew nothing of the university, to Alfred the Great, to Charlemagne, to the mysterious Prince Cantaber. There was, too, the history of a religious house, which always wished to trace itself back further than it could, and whose researches into antiquity were sharpened by the practical motive of proving its right to its property. When title deeds were lacking for this purpose, they had to be invented. There was, too, the motive of interesting and amusing, which weighed most powerfully on the compilers of histories for the great public, the illiterate laity, the idle lords and ladies. It was not for nothing that popular history, at first mainly written in verse, was slowly differentiated from the *Chanson de geste* from which it began.

But these motives are, after all, exceptional, and we have no reason for not believing that the average mediæval chronicler did not honestly try to hand on the tale as he received it. But what means had he for ascertaining the facts as they occurred? Under what conditions did he apply his mind to their selection and criticism.

In dealing with the former problem let us confess at once that the mediæval chronicler had very poor opportunities of dealing adequately with the history of any distant period. He had too few books; he had too little criticism; he had too much deference to the authoritative text as written; and he was in the mass of cases a slipshod and easy-going person who was content to copy out what he found in the old book which happened to be accessible to him. Even when he really took pains, he was pulled up short by his inability to imagine that any other age had conditions at all different from those with which he was himself familiar. To him the heroes of ancient days were like the knights and gentlemen he saw around him. They lived in moated and machicolated castles, bore coat-armour, honoured the Virgin and the Saints, and tilted on horseback, clad in armour and provided with

long spears. They had, therefore, little "historical sense": they never appreciated an historical atmosphere different from that which they themselves breathed. Accordingly, the universal histories from the creation downwards in which mediæval writers delighted are mainly interesting to us as illustrations of that illusive phenomenon, the mediæval mind. And this is not only the case with the periods of which both they and we know nothing. It is equally true when a mediæval writer sets himself sincerely to study a period a century or more earlier than his own. Here his want of aptitude for the "comparative method," which lies at the basis of criticism, becomes painfully obvious. He cannot discriminate between his sources. To the compiler of a universal chronicle who approached the Carolingian age, the authentic testimony of an Einhard or a Nithard was no better and no worse than the romance of the Charlemagne cycle which sends the Great Emperor on a crusade to Palestine. To the twelfth-century attempts to restore Celtic antiquity, Arthur and his knights had the same ideals as Godfrey of Boulogne, Frederick Barbarossa or William the Marshal. Like children, they did not see clearly the distinction between truth, sought by an intellectual process, and the romantic product of the imagination. If many of Geoffrey of Monmouth's contemporaries took him for gospel, has he not still his modern disciples? And it was not so long ago that the false Ingulf and Richard of Cirencester were quoted with respect by the learned.

We shall be fairer, then, if we test our mediæval historian by what he could do when he was at his best. That is to say, we must examine his work when he was dealing with contemporary or nearly contemporary times. We all know the difficulties of recent history, and there may still be teachers who maintain that by reason of those difficulties, history, like port wine or whisky, should not be consumed by the tender digestion of the student until it has become matured by long storage in the dry cellar of a muniment room or a library. Yet for us moderns the difficulty of recent history is not so much the impossibility of getting at the essential facts in their proportion, as it is the flood of unimportant and unsifted information in which the true points of knowledge lie concealed. We are buried in the floods of trivialities which the daily press, the memoirist, the dispatch writer, the pamphleteer, the apologist, and the first-hand seeker for truth pour out upon us. How much worse off was the mediæval chronicler in all

these respects ! He had practically nothing to depend on save personal observation, the testimony of friends, and the small doles of official information that his rulers thought it worth while to publish to the world. Yet he often made good use of his inferior means of collecting news. We perhaps, knowing that we do not get at facts as he did, are apt to undervalue the facilities which he had at his command.

Let us avoid this mistake. Let us recognise that many chroniclers had good means of information and made good use of them. There are good chroniclers as well as bad chroniclers. The good chronicler was shrewd, circumspect and judicious. He does not easily give himself away, but is ever ready with his *ut fertur* or *ut dicunt*, when he feels his ground unsure. We see how he sought out his knowledge when we read how Matthew Paris was coached by Henry III himself in the details of the translation of St. Edward, how Richard, king of the Romans, instructed the same writer in the cost of the foundation of the church of Hayles, and how Geoffrey the Baker had before him the written memoir of the Oxfordshire knight, Sir Thomas de la More, relating the story of the enforced deposition of Edward II. Froissart illustrates the chronicler who was an unwearied traveller, picking up information, and often no doubt muddling it up in his head, from the roadside and tavern stories of many persons of all ranks whom he encountered on his wanderings. The prefaces of many chroniclers, from Bede onwards, show what a real process of research some of our writers went through before they put pen to parchment. The simplest of chroniclers regarded the natural sources of material as personal knowledge, common gossip, and the correspondence of great men.¹

There was no lack of trouble taken in the Middle Ages to make news accessible, and the chroniclers doubtless took full advantage of the facilities given to the general public to obtain early information of important changes in the law in our country. From the beginning of the twelfth century copies of important laws, like royal charters of liberties, were sent round to the shires and, after publication in the

¹ John of Reading, monk of Westminster, who wrote a chronicle for the years 1325-1345, and modestly described himself as "void of literature and brains," says that he wrote "plus relatione vulgari quam propria consideratione seu litteris magnatum instructus". *Chron. J. de Reading*, ed. Tait, p. 99.

shire moot, deposited in representative local churches. The Ordinances of 1311 were expressly published not only in the shires but in the liberties and the Cinque Ports. In the next generation it was considered that it was part of the business of a knight of the shire or a burgess, when he came home from parliament, to make known to his constituents the laws promulgated in it. Perhaps the repeated re-enactment of many laws may have been the result, not only of important execution, but also of a desire to give them a wider publicity.

If laymen or secular clerks obtained news with difficulty, it seems obvious that monks were still less competent to collect information. Up to the twelfth century at least, a majority of the chroniclers were monks. These were, or ought to have been, recluses by profession, cloistered from the world, uninterested in secular affairs, unversed in war and rarely concerned with politics. Moreover, to many modern eyes, monks saw the world askew. They lived in a cloud of marvel and mystery, greedily sought for the miraculous in the most ordinary operations of nature, were narrow, prejudiced, and superstitious. But no one who knew the twelfth century will recognise much force in either of these accusations. The age which saw the work of Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, who not only administered the affairs of Louis VI but wrote his biography, and the work of St. Bernard, who ruled all Europe from his cloister at Clairvaux, could not regard monks as mere spectators of worldly affairs. Nor was St. Bernard ignorant, though his love of learning was doubtless of an old-fashioned and circumscribed sort. In all practical affairs no one could be nearer the centre of things than those two great monks and the many lesser religious persons who followed, so far as they could, these great masters. And superstition and a cult of the marvellous was not a special prerogative of the monastic orders. I have a shrewd impression that the unlettered layman had a much greater capacity for accepting readily a pious story than the more critical and educated monk or clerk. We may criticise the mediæval point of view, if we like ; but we must not regard it as specially monastic.

Some advantages the monastic chronicler possessed. He was not, like the mediæval baronial and ruling class, or like the bishops themselves, a perpetual vagabond. He lived, year in and year out, in a home of his own, where the passing traveller readily sojourned and told his stories of adventure, and where the chronicler occupied a

stately and peaceful dwelling, had books round him in reasonable abundance in the *armaria* of his house, and opportunities of composition and reflection in the compulsory silence of the cloister and the vacant intervals between the regular offices. Moreover, he was a member of a great corporation at a time when corporate spirit was easier to develop than individual self-consciousness. Not only was his own house an organised society for mutual help; he belonged to a world-wide order. Many great monastic corporations early developed a tradition of historical composition. Knowledge that information given to such a society was likely to be utilised for historical purposes naturally caused historical information to flow to any monastic community intent on writing history, and stirred up the more curious members of the community to seek for it for themselves. The result was a rare continuity of historical writing, which endured from age to age. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, started, as most scholars think, at Winchester by the direction of Alfred, was certainly kept up in its original home for a good century. The continuity becomes greater in later ages, notably in houses like St. Albans, in which the task of writing history was regularly taken up from generation to generation. It has been conjectured by Sir Thomas Hardy, and most of us have followed him without adequate consideration, that the convent of St. Albans appointed a historiographer, to whom the convent assigned the task of writing up the local chronicle. But there seems no early authority for the statement, and the best recent one is the misplacement of a conjectural comma in the modern edition of the *Gesta abbatum*.¹ There was, however, a danger in the continuity of tradition. There was a tendency for this. Such official historians would naturally tend to conform to pattern and we should expect their literary output to show little individuality. Nor is this seldom the case during the three centuries in which St. Albans concerned itself with the writing of history. But individual gifts will rise superior to traditional conditions, and there was no lack of the personal touch in a Roger of Wendover, and still less in Matthew Paris, the most individual of

¹ *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani*, I. 394, twice (once in heading, once in text) calls Matthew Paris "historiographus," but this need only mean "historian," not an officially appointed abbey historian. In the heading I should read the words, "Monachi Sancti Albani, historiographi," not as Mr. Riley did, "Monachi, Sancti Albani historiographi".

mediæval chroniclers. Sometimes, when we do not so much as know the writer's name, we can discern his personality in his work, as for instance in the fierce diatribe against John of Gaunt and his policy which we read in the anonymous St. Albans' Chronicle of the early years of Richard II.

The continuity of the monastic chronicle was the greater since it was not only carried on generation after generation in the same house, but since friendly or neighbouring convents pooled or interchanged their information. When a society wished to start a chronicle and was too incurious or inactive to compile one on its own, it borrowed, begged or stole the annals of a good-natured community, and continued it in a fashion of its own liking. Thus in the early eleventh century, when the historic fire, kindled by Alfred at Winchester, had grown cold, the monks of Canterbury procured a Winchester manuscript and wrote it up for succeeding generations at Christ Church. It was the same with Worcester or Evesham, with Abingdon and with Peterborough—from all of which abbeys versions of the so-called Anglo-Saxon Chronicle have come down to us. Centuries later it was the same at Westminster, when the reformation and enlargement of St. Peter's abbey by Henry III quickened the intellectual activities of the monks. One result was the transference to Westminster of a short St. Albans' chronicle, called, no doubt by a disciple of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, but quite different from, and indeed very inferior to, that excellent work. But these modest flowers of history were assiduously cultivated year after year by a succession of Westminster monks. That very volume which had been begun at St. Albans in the famous St. Albans' hand, now saw its blank pages gradually filled in by the progressively inferior penmanship in vogue at Westminster. The most individual of the series of Westminster chroniclers was Robert of Reading whose idolatry of the good Earl Thomas of Lancaster is as fierce and malignant as the St. Albans' monk's denunciation of Duke John of Lancaster, nearly two generations later. I call him Robert of Reading for the excellent reason that the official continuator of the Westminster chronicle says that Robert of Reading wrote up to 1326. But the official archives of St. Peter's say that Robert of Reading died in 1318. Here is a glaring contradiction between the statements of two equally official and authoritative sources. One's natural reluctance to believe that the chronicler

went on writing for eight years after his death induces one to prefer the record in this case to the chronicle.

Another Reading, John this time, carried on in a perfunctory way the Westminster annals into the next generation. Under Richard II the Westminster record, like that of St. Albans, becomes interesting and good. We owe this revival of the historic spirit in Westminster Abbey to the unknown monk who wrote a continuation to John of Malvern, prior of Worcester, himself the continuator of Ranulf Higden, monk of Chester. The co-operation between Benedictine houses is here as noteworthy as the annalistic continuity within the same house.

The inter-relations of great churches for co-operation in historical work might be illustrated indefinitely. They go beyond neighbouring houses to convents separated by nationality and geography. Orosius was a common jumping-off point for the writers of universal history of all ages and climes. Marianus Scotus, an Irishman writing at Mainz, compiled a history which Florence, monk of Worcester, continued in England and which was the base of Sigebert of Gembloux's widely circulated *Chronographia*, the most popular of mediæval summaries of universal history, itself the basis of numerous continuations all through Western Europe. But each age had its favourite universal history, just as nowadays each generation feels itself compelled to have its own text-books. But mediæval history, like mediæval life generally, ran in one international channel, and only became tinged with distinctive national features after the thirteenth century.

There was a time when the contemptuous "age of reason" lumped all mediæval histories together as the "monastic chroniclers". This is true to the extent that, up to the end of the eleventh century, the great majority, and the best, of the chroniclers were members of religious orders. From the twelfth century the growing variety of monastic types allowed plenty of variety in monastic histories. But the same period also saw many secular clerks as individuals devoting themselves with success to historical composition, and an equally noteworthy extension of the impulse towards corporate historiography from "religious" to "secular" ecclesiastical foundations. In England the "secular" historian will henceforth hold his own against his "regular" rival. If the best historian of his time, William of Malmesbury, who boldly dared to write critical history after the school of Bede, was a monk, his chief rivals, Henry of Huntingdon

and Geoffrey of Monmouth, cannot be proved to have taken the monastic vows and the holding by both Henry and Geoffrey of so "secular" an office as an archdeaconry makes their monastic quality a somewhat otiose hypothesis. But under Henry II the turn of the secular clerk, trained in the royal court, came with the so-called Benedictus Abbas—whose *Gesta Henrici* was most assuredly not written by the abbot of Peterborough—his continuator the Yorkshire clerk, Roger of Howden and Ralph de Diceto—which must not be translated "of Diss"—the dean of the secular chapter of St. Paul's, London. Though historiography reclothed itself in a more monastic garb under Henry III, and hardly threw it off under Edward I, the monastic element in the fourteenth-century chroniclers rapidly decreased both in quality and quantity. Of the best chronicler of Edward II we have no good reason, except the convenience of an accepted label, for calling him the "monk of Malmesbury". Very constant re-readings of this life of Edward II fails to give me reason either for believing or not believing that the author was a monk, and as little for connecting him with Malmesbury. But I may, in passing, bear my testimony to the accuracy of a writer whose *obiter dictum* that in 1314 all the sheriffs of England were charged in one day can be demonstrated from Chancery and Exchequer records. Under Edward III there is a strong secular preponderance, for Geoffrey Baker, the Oxfordshire parson, Robert Avesbury, the *clericus uxoratus* who earned his bread as an officer of the southern archbishop's court, Adam Murimuth, ecclesiastical lawyer and canon of St. Paul's, and John Froissart, the eminently "secular" clerk from Valenciennes, were all without a touch of the monastic leaven. In the fifteenth century few houses, outside St. Albans and Crowland, produced chronicles of even a modest scale of merit. But we must not suppose that we can necessarily see from their mentality whether a chronicler were a monk or a secular. It would be hard to discover a "monastic" or a "secular" view of life reflected in the two types of work. Their outlook is not essentially different on the average. Adam Murimuth tells us in his preface how in his search for historical material he examined indifferently, cathedral, monastic, and collegiate churches. It was as natural to look for a chronicle in a secular foundation, such as Exeter, as in a monastic foundation, like Westminster.

Some later developments of the "religious" profession have a place

of their own in the history of history. This is the case with the friars, and particularly with the Dominicans whose contributions to history cover a wider field than those of the Franciscans. While the Minorites' historical activity was centred round the fortunes of their own order, and of its famous founders and saints, the preaching friars clothed themselves in the mantle of Sigebert of Gembloux and aimed at writing succinct and digested general histories for the educated man in the street. This was a natural result of their intense educational activity and their practical, orderly, business-like tradition. Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale* sets the type, in a work inspired by a didactic purpose. Martin of Troppau, a Pole or Czech, writing at the papal curia, was another Dominican historian, dry, arid, uninspired, but succinct, useful and easy to take in at a glance. Many of us who have read the English Dominican, Nicholas Trevet's thirteenth-century chronicle, have absorbed a good deal of Martin of Troppau without knowing it. Nearly all Trevet's copious references to foreign history are conveyed textually from Martin's *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*. Nor are Trevet's English additions different in type from his borrowings from Martin. His cut and dried annals, with the facts methodically digested under the years of the popes, emperors, and kings, with few words wasted, but those employed used precisely and distinctly, remind us painfully of the mechanical *clichés* of the modern textbook, and like the better sort of modern textbooks, serve their purpose in an uninspired sort of way. It is just the book for the specialist in other subjects—and all mediæval academic personages were specialists in non-literary fields—to get up in a hurry what he wants to know of recent history for practical purposes. If some of our war statesmen and peace negotiators had read a modern Martin of Troppau or Nicholas Trevet, they might perhaps have appreciated the elementary facts of history without which a rational settlement of, let us say, the problem of Fiume becomes impossible. Meanwhile, let us record the different impression which Dominican historiography makes on us as compared with Franciscan. The whole gulf between the two great mendicant orders is revealed by reading first *De adventu fratrum minorum* and then the Annals of Trevet. If this be too far fetched a contrast, we may more usefully compare Trevet with that portion of the so-called Lanercost Chronicle which is largely of Franciscan provenance.

I must hurry through other historical types which the later Middle Ages produced, and which do much to compensate us for the drying up of the stream of monastic annals. There are the vernacular histories which first leap into prominence when our Henry II and his Queen Eleanor commissioned Master Wace of Jersey to write his *Roman de Rou* and his *Roman de Brut*. The withdrawal of royal favour from Wace to a rival shows that kings and queens, even in those days, were not always sound critics. At first these French chronicles were in verse, for the growing reading or listening public of literate lords and ladies, who were not at home in Latin, preferred poetry to prose. Hence such books as the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* and the so-called *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, narrating the Norman Conquest of Ireland. Prose vernacular history was cultivated earlier in France than in Britain, but from such books written beyond sea we get some of our best illustrations of our early thirteenth-century annals. We never produced French vernacular history that can compare in interest with the Villehardouins and Joinvilles of France. But French vernacular verse was soon succeeded by English rhyming chronicles like Layamon and Robert of Gloucester. We must not forget, when we rashly speak of the barrenness of our mediæval literary history, that the real literary measure of the time is to be found in the Latin vernacular of the scholars and statesmen and in the French vernacular of the gentry and higher commercial classes. To these, English came as a bad third, at least up to the end of the fourteenth century. Schools of English are too apt to ignore this truth and make our mediæval ancestors more illiterate than they were, because they wrote so seldom in the English language.

After vernacular history comes lay history, that is, history written by men who were not clerks, even in the widest sense. Here again England is behind France, the more so as the first demonstrably lay chronicle, the London history written by Arnold, son of Thedmar, was the work of a man of German stock, but settled in England and an alderman of London. It prepared the way for the long series of London chronicles which are so valuable in their aggregate for the later Middle Ages. But London was the only big town of mediæval England. Its unmeasurable superiority over Bristol and Lynn, its nearest rivals in the composition of civic histories, is symbolic of its unique position in our history in those days. Side by side with civic

histories came chronicles written by lettered knights, for the *miles litteratus* was common from the fourteenth century. We cannot have a better instance of these than the *Scalachronica*, written to beguile his imprisonment at the hands of the Scots, by one of the first of the Northumbrian knightly house of Grey who won for himself a place in history.

But I must pull myself up or I shall be in danger of neglecting the appreciation of the value of the mediæval chronicler in a breathless attempt to enumerate his various types. There still remain for consideration many points connected with their historical value, not only by itself but in comparison with other sources.

Time was when the chronicle was considered the sole or the main material for mediæval history. A now forgotten history of the Norman Conquest declared itself on the title page to be based on a "new collation of the contemporary chronicles". Few writers would be so naive now-a-days as to regard as adequate such a facile method of historical composition. With the opening up of archives and with their contents becoming more accessible through lists, calendars, summaries and the publication *in extenso* of many documents, it has become the fashion to regard the record as superior in authority to the chronicle. There is now a school of historians which is not satisfied unless it can base its conclusions on record evidence. Some of its extreme disciples act as if records could never be wrong. They often declare that chroniclers are essentially untrustworthy. It is easy to demonstrate the unwisdom of such extreme claims. It is more important to notice that, with the increased study of records, the chronicle has more or less come under a cloud.

The consequences of this reaction have been the more serious since with the increased study of records has come a widened view of the province of history. It is not so very long ago that Freeman said, amidst general approval, that history was past politics and politics present history. But nowadays our conception of history is not limited to the history of the state. Even when we still fix our attention on political history, our object is not primarily to frame a narrative. We wish to describe, to analyse, to reconstruct, to understand, rather than simply to tell the tale in chronological sequence. And some of the more ardent souls are beginning to despise political history altogether. They seek to expound not the history of the state but the history of

society, and rightly, since in modern and even in mediæval times the state was not the only or even the most potent of the organisations which bound together man and man for a common purpose. With this extension of the field of history, the chronicler becomes less important. He is, above all things, the teller of a story. If history is not primarily narrative, what is the use of the chronicler?

The exclusive cult of the chronicler was one-sided and unscientific: but the excessive reaction against him cannot be justified, either by the importance of other sources of information, or by the inclusion within the historic field of activities with which the political or the narrative historian has little concern. Nor can we study the history of society with effect until we have set forth clearly the history of the state in all its aspects. And of how many periods of our mediæval history can we truly say that the basis of political history has been well and truly laid? And where would political history be, if it were not for the chronicles?

We may make full recognition of the limitations of a chronicler's knowledge, of his bias, his lack of proportion and his failure in perspective. But we must not blind ourselves to the fact that, without the aid of the chronicler, the consecutive history of church and state in the Middle Ages could not be written at all. The chronicles supply us with the frame in which we can set our picture. More than that, they afford us nearly all the colour, life, and human interest that we can paint into the picture itself. Records are arid things, and though they afford a happy hunting ground for the seeker after novelties, he seldom finds in them anything that can stimulate his imagination or brighten his task. The investigator, who perforce has to work mainly among records, has a weary row to hoe, but he perseveres because it is only by the cultivation of this stubborn field that he can attain the results for which he is seeking. If it may be permitted a personal illustration, I may tell you that for the last ten years I have been largely occupied in investigating some aspects of the administrative machine by which mediæval England was governed. For such an enquiry the chroniclers are almost useless; if I have read many chronicles, it has only been to seek what I did not find, and to convince myself of their ignorance or indifference to the whole of our administrative system. I have therefore been compelled to quarry my material almost exclusively from records. The result of this long banishment from the intellectual food of my earlier days has made me profoundly cognisant of the in-

dispensable service of the chronicler to mediæval history. The rush through records is interesting enough, but the immediate results are less so. With what thankfulness one notes and remembers the jest, salted perhaps with a touch of profanity, or impropriety, with which the average record writer scribbles on a blank page some effort to alleviate his tedious task. How unrelated and trivial seem our extracts from his rolls! Now that I draw near to the conclusion of the task, I cannot but feel real affinities with M. Fulgence Tapir, the marvellously shortsighted *savant*, whose method of work while compiling the universal annals of art has been revealed to us in the sprightly pages of Anatole France. "I possess the whole of art," boasted that worthy, "on *fiches*, classed alphabetically and by order of subjects." But no sooner had a seeker after knowledge opened, at the master's bidding, the particular box that contained the material which he was to consult, than the whole mass of boxes which lined the scholar's study burst open with a murmur like that of swollen cascades in spring-time pouring down the mountain sides. To cut the story short, M. Tapir was lamentably drowned in the flood of his own slips, in his own *cabinet de travail*. His disciple escaped his fate with difficulty by jumping through the top of the window. The *fiche* is a good servant but a bad master, and the exclusive collection of the isolated slips that record work tends to stimulate requires to be controlled by a strong head and a rigorous sense of proportion. The most wooden collation of chronicles can hardly yield as inhuman a result as the piling up of detached items of detail from a variety of isolated documents. When the ship of knowledge, laden with such a cargo, encounters a storm, we must not be surprised if the captain strives to lighten the ship by jettisoning the most ponderous part of its lading. If he gets home to port with his cargo, its value in the market will depend not on the dry facts, but on his power of selection, construction, imagination and synthesis—just those gifts, in short, which are sometimes regarded as the special gift of the "historian" as opposed to the chronicler.

It is easy to see a superficial justification for the superior person who brushes aside a picturesque bit of history, a trait of personality, or a direct attribution of motive, as "mere chroniclers' gossip". I have already hinted at the difficulties by which the mediæval chroniclers were beset, and I do not deny that for precision of detail and chronological accuracy of statement the best of chroniclers leave something to

be desired. But the same may be said of the poems and romances and the other literary remains that reflect the spirit of an age. Moreover, it is in these pedestrian respects that chronicler's statements can be controlled by records, and that more easily than more easily in England than in any other country of Western Europe, except perhaps Aragon, because of the wonderful richness of our surviving archives. Moreover, the chroniclers who are best known, and who have by their inaccuracies and confusions brought discredit to their class, are precisely those brilliant and literary historians who, with many merits of their own, are far from representing the average level of a chronicler's accuracy. Take, for instance, Matthew Paris and Froissart, certainly the most talked about, probably the most read of the narrative authorities for our mediæval history. They are the most slipshod and inaccurate of writers. They are full of strong prejudices and abound in biased judgments. They can, times out of mind, be demonstrated to be wrong in this or that statement, and in this or that judgment. Yet what should we do without them? How instructive, yet how hopelessly warped are those curious embroideries with which Matthew Paris so often ornamented the plain though fine cloth garments of his predecessor Roger Wendover? How the *Chronica Maiora* give us a vivid impression of the dawn of self-consciousness in the infant English nation, handing on to the Jingo chroniclers of the Hundred Years' War the germ of their fierce undying prejudice against the foreigner which comes to a head in the fiercely patriotic pages of a Geoffrey Baker? How instructive, too, in the atmosphere of fourteenth-century chivalry is Froissart? Better chroniclers may control his inaccuracies. Baker shows us that the Black Prince did not in 1355 work his way into Languedoc up the Garonne valley, as Froissart imagines, but through the tangled uplands of Armagnac, Astarac and Foix, and that the crowning victory of Poitiers was not a cavalry scuffle in a narrow lane. Record sources will enable us still more meticulously to trace the itineraries of kings and armies, to appreciate the methods by which the English host was levied, paid, drilled, equipped and governed. But we should study the "age of chivalry" to little purpose did we not gather from Froissart's pages the very spirit of the time, the hard-fighting, magnanimous, whimsical gentry of France and England, waging war against each other with strict attention to the artificial rules of the ring which they had devised for the protection of their class, only cruel and re-

morseless to their own order when they regarded it as violating the conventions of honour, but seldom deigning to spare the puddle blood of the rascal multitude, on which, as the story of the Limoges massacre shows, the worst burden of war inevitably fell.

The chronicler is not our only source of colour and atmosphere. The literary remains are almost as important and have been lamentably neglected by most historians. Almost as neglected by the generality are the records in stone, the archæological remains, that have a colour and art of their own. Yet we must turn first of all to the chronicler for variety of inspiration. From the chroniclers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries every current of public opinion in France and England is reflected as in a mirror. In our own land we have the majority of the chroniclers representing that baronial policy of opposition which English public opinion identified with the national struggle for freedom, just as they indicated, even more meticulously, the sturdy patriotism which saw in the dynastic claims of Edward III a national struggle for existence against our enemy of France. Among the French writers we have an equal variety of sentiment. The international ideal of aristocratic chivalry had its champion in Froissart, just as the national monarchy of France had its advocate in Pierre d'Orgement. The common people, of whom Froissart spoke so lightly, had its claims set forth by the Parisian friar, Jean de Venette, who describes the sufferings of the peasantry from the ravages of war, denounces the nobles who rode roughshod over their serfs, and saw in Étienne Marcel the champion of a liberty worth winning even at the price of a revolution. The generally "Burgundian" sentiment of the early fifteenth-century French writers shows the need that France had for the patriotic inspiration of the Maid of Orleans.

Even the chroniclers who write with a purpose were often well informed when their brief allowed them to tell the truth. The official chroniclers make up for their political or personal object by their access to official sources of information. For this reason the official annals of the Merovingians and Carolingians have their special value, despite their bias. For this reason the official history of the Capetians, largely written at Saint Denis, must not be neglected. The best example of this is the way in which Pierre d'Orgement, Chancellor of France, re-edited the Chronicle of Saint Denis so as to glorify the deeds of his master, Charles V, and justify the claims of France against the English.

Orgement wrote, we are told, under the inspiration of the king, and reflected the monarch's most secret motives and cares. Such a book is a real document, far removed from the "chroniclers' gossip" which the one-sided record enthusiast vainly talks. The parallel French and Latin versions of the official Saint Denis apology shows that public opinion was as much deferred to in France as in England.

Most sharp contrasts have more reality in the minds of those who make them than in the facts themselves. The contrast between chronicle and record suggests fundamentally different types of information. Yet as a matter of fact chroniclers used records just as we have learnt to do, and not the least of our debts to chronicles is that many of them have utilized record material and have handed on to us records that otherwise we should never have known. Bede obtained from Rome copies of papal letters to elucidate the conversion of England to the Christian faith. The so-called Benedict of Peterborough and his continuator, Roger Howden, availed themselves of the extensive archives of their master Henry II, and wrote out many charters in the course of their narrative. We are much indebted to the arid lawyer-chronicler, Robert of Avesbury, for saving himself the labour of composing his own story of Edward III's campaigns in France by copying the despatches sent from the field by the king's counsellors, chaplains, and generals. Even an involved and artfully confected narrative, like that of Geoffrey the Baker of the same wars, is in parts based on record sources, even when these sources are not acknowledged. Yet how few of these records used by chroniclers are now to be found in our national archives, and how great is our debt to the historians who have preserved them for us?

So much was the working up of records in a narrative a recognised method of historiography, that we have a definite type of monastic cartulary-chronicle in which the charters of the house are strung together by a thin thread of narrative, after the fashion of Avesbury's chronicle of battles. Perhaps this type is best illustrated for us by a famous early fifteenth-century forgery which assumed this shape. This is the *Historia Crowlandensis*, compiled in Crowland abbey in the days of Richard II and Henry IV in order to justify the monks' claims to disputed property. This "history" added immensely to the goodly store of false charters already in possession of the house to secure its title deeds. The forgery was fathered on Ingulf, abbot of Crow-

land under William the Conqueror, and taken as a valuable piece of true history almost to our own days. But the art of forgery was universal in the Middle Ages. It was contact with these falsifications that produced some of the best efforts of mediæval *Quellenkritik*.

In these very desultory observations I have aimed at showing that, with all its many faults, the mediæval chronicle is an indispensable tool to the mediæval historian. To all young mediævalists one can say with absolute assurance—Read mediæval chronicles. Read them, not merely to pick out the particular points which you are in quest of, or to copy out a passage indicated by the index ; but read them consecutively and as a whole. Read them in your armchair when you have no immediate practical point to extract from them, and no special occasion to remember them. Read them to get the spirit and mentality of the time, even if for your particular purpose the chronicle has little to tell. But when you have done this, do not think that there is nothing more to be done with the chroniclers. It is not only that they must find their place among the many types of source on which your book will be based. Then the chronicle, so far as it is true to fact, must be combined with your records, your letters, your archæological, and your literary material in a synthesis that correlates the whole of the evidence. And the danger to mediæval studies, as to many other studies, is not only lack of technique, which can be remedied. It is much more a long continued concentration on one aspect of the sources which makes the rest worse than non-existent to us. To the more technical students of the Middle Ages, there is no better relief than the study of the chroniclers. If you do this, you will not stop there ; you will go on to non-historical literature. You will, in time, become that *rara avis* among historians, a well-read man in the general literature of your period. The one-sided and restricted knowledge that comes from premature and excessive specialisation on one side of an age is almost as dangerous to true science as the lack of adequate specialism at all.

One more problem before I finish. Let us admit, it may be said, the rather restricted value which you assign to the chroniclers. But have we not learnt already all that the chronicles have to tell us ? Have they not been in print, the best of them for centuries ? Have not their provenance, their inter-relations, their affiliations, their authorship, their authority, been already so thoroughly studied that

the field is almost exhausted, and its further cultivation would involve an increasingly diminishing return to the labourers ?

My answer is that those, who are most prone to complain that all the work that matters has been done already, are just those who have the least clear conception of the immensity of the field to be traversed and of the imperfection of much of the work already accomplished. But it is useless to deny that in some quarters the essential work on the chronicles has already been done and that we have printed and critical editions that are sufficient for most purposes. This is especially true of the earlier periods, where the mass of material is small and the fascination of exploring origins and solving puzzles have always attracted the attention of many acute minded scholars. There is not perhaps much more to be done with English before the Conquest, and what is still to be done is rather in the criticism of charters than of chronicles. The same is true of the Norman and Angevin periods, but to a decreasing extent as we get towards the end of that age. It is much less true of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. We have learned much that is new as to these periods from the publication of unedited chronicles by Liebermann, Horstmann, Paul Meyer, Kingsford, James, Flenley, and Tait, but the tale is not yet complete. An old pupil of mine, a recent teacher in our University, has just come across almost by accident a chronicle hitherto unknown, which will, when published, help to illuminate some of the darker passages of the reign of Edward III. In all great libraries, such as the John Rylands, there may well be similar discoveries to be made and that not only in the way of chronicles. But there is work to be done even on the known chronicles. Many of the best chronicles are only accessible in old editions, not always very critical, and, critical or not, existing in such scanty numbers that the least increase in demand sends up their prices in second-hand book shops to an alarming rate. For that reason we are thankful to welcome such a reprint as that which Dr. James, the Provost of Eton, has recently given us of Blakman's eulogy of Henry VI. We want new editions of such works as Hemingburgh, Trevet, and other very imperfectly studied thirteenth-century writers. In the next period what an impetus to study a good new edition, such as that of Thompson's *Geoffrey le Baker*, has proved to be. We want some notoriously bad editions, which it would be invidious to name, superseded by something more competent. But we do not only want new

editions ; we want still more increased study of texts already more or less accessible. So long ago as 1840 Francisque Michel published the chronicle which he called *L'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre*, but it was not until more than fifty years later that M. Petit Dutaillis demonstrated its origin and showed its supreme importance for the reign of John and the early part of the reign of Henry III. It was in 1894 that the Abbé Moisant printed from manuscript in Corpus College, Cambridge, in his *Prince Noir en Aquitaine* the fragmentary *acta bellicosa Edwardi* which threw real light on the conquest of Normandy in 1346. But the *acta bellicosa* had little to do with the Black Prince and nothing with Aquitaine, and for ten years it escaped all attention until it was at last fully utilized by Professor Prentout of Caen in his *Prise de Caen par Édouard III*, issued in 1904. Thus discoveries can be made in printed sources, whether chronicles or otherwise. I think they can still be made in Rymer's *Foedera*, which has now been in print for over two centuries !

Thus there is plenty of work still to be done on the chronicles, both printed and unprinted. And if we are to popularise the study of mediæval chronicles in this country, we should do well to interest the younger generation in establishing a series of cheap and short but adequate texts of the better chronicles for class and seminar use, such as was first illustrated in Germany by the Pertz series *in usum scholarum* and is best shown by Picard's extremely valuable and handy *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Etude et l'Enseignement de l'Histoire*. If such a series, like the French one, contained documents as well as chronicles, so much the better. For, though my business today is to claim its rights for the chronicle, I should be the last to claim for it an exclusive or even preponderating place among our authorities. It is indispensable for certain purposes ; it is useful for all. But I am bound to confess that, while to some temperaments there is plenty of mental gymnastic and some good chance of fruit to be obtained from the meticulous study of the chronicle, yet the harvest to be garnered from the fourteenth-century record is to most of us incomparably more satisfying and abundant. But to digest this great store of knowledge there is nothing like the study of the chronicles to give one the proper mediæval tone and spirit. And, finally, the way of progress is to be found not in stressing one side or the other of our sources, but in the intelligent study and combination of them as a whole.

STOIC ORIGINS OF THE PROLOGUE TO ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

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THOSE who have been interested in following my recent attempts at discovering the literary origin of the *Prologue to St. John's Gospel*¹ (which leads on at once to the discovery of a historical line of development for the *Doctrine of the Trinity*),² will not be surprised to hear me say that there are still some lacunæ in the argument, and that, in consequence, the exposition of the theme is not, at all points, equally and finally convincing. One must criticise oneself sometimes, as well as employ one's learned friends for a critical mirror.

For example, when we say that underlying the Johannine doctrine of the Logos, which was in the beginning and was with God, there is a hymn in honour of Sophia or the Heavenly Wisdom, it is easy to show that Sophia could once be expressed in similar terms to the Logos : so much was clear from the first great hymn to Sophia in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. Here Wisdom was represented as the Beginning of the works of God, or as being in the Beginning with God's works, and this Wisdom was definitely said to be "with God". We were able at once to replace the first two clauses of St. John's Gospel by two lines of a hymn to Sophia. And in the same way, at point after point in the Prologue, we were able to make a replacement of the corresponding lines of the lost hymn. But, as we said, there were missing links in the chain of evidence. For instance, we replaced the sentence that

The Word was God

by the supposed equivalent

Sophia was God :

¹ Cambridge University Press, 1917.

² Manchester University Press, 1919.

but it must have been felt in many quarters that this is not as explicitly stated in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and its two pendant hymns in the *Wisdom of Solomon* (c. 7) and the *Wisdom of Ben Sirach* (c. 24) ; and even if it be implied, there is still a measure of improbability about the categorical equivalence of God and Wisdom : God and Logos was difficult, God and Wisdom more so.

It might also be said that the personification of Wisdom as the Daughter of God, even in Spenser's form,

There in His bosome Sapience doth sit,
The soueraine dearling of the Deity,

would, at first sight, seem to preclude an equation between Daughter and Sire. Should we, in a parallel case, be entitled to say of Wordsworth's hymn to Duty, as the "stern daughter of the Voice of God," that the poet has here equated Duty and Deity ? It becomes proper, then, to show from the Old Testament itself, that Sophia had been visaged with complete Divine attributes, and so to justify the restored clause of our hymn.

This is what we propose to do, and it may perhaps be said that in the eighth of Proverbs, Wisdom has the connotation of creative power, of consubstantiality and perhaps of co-eternity, and that, therefore, we may be allowed to make our restoration. But, as we said, this is not quite so explicit a statement as we could wish. It is too near to the Nicene Creed to be primitive. Let us see if we can make out a stronger case by a more careful study of the documents involved.

Suppose we turn to the seventh chapter of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, where we find a hymn in honour of Sophia that is a pendant to the original hymn, much in the same way as Cowper's splendid versification in the *Olney Hymns*, or Spenser's in the *Hymn to Heavenly Beauty*, are pendants. We shall establish two theses : (i) that the hymn in the *Wisdom of Solomon* is a Stoic product ; (ii) that the terms in which Wisdom is there described are, for the most part, Stoic definitions of Deity : and from thence it will follow that, to the mind of the writer : (iii) Wisdom was God. We premise, to avoid misunderstanding, that we do not profess, and have not professed, that everything which we have said on this great theme is from our own anvil ; it would be less likely to be true if it were : we are

catching the sparks that fly, like chaff, from the threshing-floor of all the fathers of all the early Christian centuries. They all knew that Christ was the Wisdom of God as well as the Word of God, and if they did not know how the Word was evolved from the Wisdom, that is another matter. Perhaps they would have found it out for us if they had lived in the twentieth century : for they all prove their doctrine from the eighth chapter of Proverbs. When we, then, approach the first of our two theses, we are not claiming to be the first to detect that the *Wisdom of Solomon* is a Stoic book, written by a Jewish scholar who has been attending Stoic lectures. We might almost take this preliminary statement for granted, if it were not that the first observers have dealt with it so incompletely and illustrated it so inadequately. Quite apart from any use which we are ourselves going to make of the admitted Stoicism of the language, it is necessary for the exegesis of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, that its translators and interpreters should have an adequate familiarity with the philosophical terms that are employed.

First of all let us remind ourselves with regard to the Stoic philosophy, that it constitutes a religion as well as a philosophy, and the religion involved is a popular religion, with a propaganda and an open-air preaching, not so very remote in some aspects from the methods of the Salvation Army. This means that its philosophy was capable of throwing off formulæ from itself ; it could be reduced to gnomic forms, such as the popular mind could assimilate ; it had a Shorter Catechism, as well as a Longer Confession of Faith. Suppose we imagine a Stoic philosopher turned into an open-air preacher, like Paul at Athens, a "picker-up of learning's crumbs" (σπερμολόγος) and distributor of the same. If he began with the doctrine of God (ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα) he would have to explain in some simple way who Zeus was, or who Athena ; like St. Paul he would look at the Parthenon and look away from it. He would avoid sculpture, and in all probability take to philology. "Zeus," he would say, "my friends, is so named because he lives and causes to live, he is the Living One (ὁ ζῶν). Or if we think of him as Διὸς or Δία, he is so-called because he is the one *by whom* (δι' οὗ) are all things, and *for whom* (δι' ὧν) are all things." Everyone in the crowd could understand and carry off the doctrine of the Living One, by whom are all things and for whom are all things, much the same as if our ancestors

had explained *Thor* as the person *through* whom are all things. If these are Stoic statements, then there are among the hearers of this Stoic preacher Christians who will know how to appropriate the statements and incorporate the terms of the teaching with their own tradition. For does not the Apocalypse disclose the fact that one of the early titles of Christ was the Living One, (Apoc. i. 18) and does not the Epistle to the Hebrews speak of God as the One “by whom are all things and for whom are all things” (δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα), Heb. ii. 10? Is this, then, Stoic doctrine? Let us see.

Chrysippus,¹ the great Stoic teacher, tells us that God pervades all nature, and has many names to match his many operations. “They call him Δία through whom are all things (δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα), and they call him Zeus (Ζῆνα), inasmuch as he is the cause of life (τοῦ ζῆν αἰτίος ἐστίν) or because he pervades what lives (διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κενώρηκεν).

Stobaeus, quoting from Chrysippus, says, “He appears to be called Zeus from his having given life to all (ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσι δεδωκέναι τὸ ζῆν). But he is called Δία because he is the cause of all things and for him are all things: ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν αἰτίος καὶ δι’ αὐτὸν πάντα.”²

Surely St. Paul was using Stoic language on the Areopagus, when he spoke of God as “giving to all life and breath and all things”. This is the very A.B.C. of Stoic doctrine. If we do not understand the Stoic meanings of Zeus and Dia, we shall find philosophical references obscure and unintelligible. For example, Philodemus³ quotes Chrysippus as saying that Zeus is the soul of the world and that by a participation in Zeus all things live, that is why he is called Zēn (τῇ τούτου μετοχῇ πάντα [ζῆν] . . . διὸ καὶ Ζῆνα καλεῖσθαι): but he is called Δία because he is the Cause of all and the Lord of all (ὅτι πάντων αἰτίος καὶ κύριος). Evidently he means to read αἰτίος out of δι’ οὗ and κύριος out of δι’ ὃν. The formula in the epistle to the Hebrews underlies the language of Chrysippus and Philodemus. This simple formula which we have been quoting, which we call the street-corner preaching of the Stoic, led almost at

¹ Diog. Laert., vii. 147.

² Stobaeus, *Eclog.*, ed. Wachsmuth, i. 31, 11.

³ *De pietate*, c. 11.

once to their fundamental pantheistic statement. They had said that Zeus was the Life of all things, and they interpreted this pantheistically. To make the doctrine clearer, they used the Greek preposition *διὰ*, not only in the sense of "through" (whether instrumental or directive), but also when compounded in verb forms, of which the favourite was the verb *διήκω*, to penetrate, to pervade, which is used of the Soul of the World : and a companion verb is *διοικέω*, to regulate, to administer. These two words are used as an expansion of *διὰ*, which is itself the accusative of Zeus (*Δία*).

In the passage which we quoted above from Chrysippus (through Philodemus) we are told that Zeus is the Logos that regulates all things and is the Soul of the World (*τὸν ἅπαντα διοικῶντα λόγον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου ψυχὴν*). Again, Poseidonius (the Stoic whom Philo and Cicero and others quote so freely) says that Zeus is so-called, as being the All-Regulator (*τὸν πάντα διοικῶντα*), but Crates says he is the All-Pervading One (*τὸν εἰς πάντα διήκοντα*).¹ The latter statement is fundamental for Stoicism : we have it enunciated for us again by Hippolytus,² with a slight variation, to wit, that Chrysippus and Zeno have maintained God to be the origin of all things, and that he is a body, the purest of all, whose providence pervades all things. We shall see presently how this fundamental Stoic doctrine is reflected on the Wisdom of Solomon. Meanwhile observe that our supposed Stoic preacher is in difficulties : he has abandoned Plato and made God corporeal : he has affirmed Pantheism and has to meet objections on all sides. The man in the crowd wants to know if God pervades ugly things as well as beautiful things, dung-heaps as well as stars. The philosopher in the crowd, a stray Epicurean, who will have nothing to do with Pantheism or Providence, wants to know the shape of the all-pervading Deity ; is it still anthropomorphic ?

Clement of Alexandria,³ who knows what everybody thinks, reports that the Stoics regard God as pervading all matter, even the most dishonourable forms : and as to the body of God, the Stoic has to admit that the all-pervading Zeus is not in human form, and so good-bye to Olympus and its inhabitants. Notice here again that St.

¹ Johan. Laur. Lydus, *de mensibus*, iv. 48.

² *Philos.*, 21.

³ *Cohort. ad gentes*, p. 58.

Paul plays the Stoic against the Epicurean in his discourse : first by quoting Stoic poetry :

We are also his offspring :

but he is not like the images made of him in gold, silver, marble. But what shape is God, then ? The Stoic replies, he is the most perfect shape, for if a more perfect shape than he could be found, it would displace him, and be the Divine Thing. Press the question more closely and ask for a definition of the perfect shape, and the Stoic says "spherical".¹ And this shape is the most perfect, because all the parts are equally related to the centre, and because it is the form adapted to the swiftest motion. Someone asks whether a cube or a cone is not equally perfect,² but he is a geometer and may be neglected. It is clear now to the common man that Zeus is gone, for a spherical Zeus³ could have neither head nor limbs. Pheidias could make nothing of him. And the wily Epicurean, who has been watching his time, begins to enquire whether, if God is σφαιροειδής, in sphere-form, those persons whom Homer describes as θεοειδής, of godlike form, are also rotund : Paris, for example, and Agamemnon, are they all-round men ? And the Stoic, driven into a corner, can only repeat that God is a spirit of the purest, and pervades all things. He is mind in matter : "Nature the body is, and God the soul". We are to think of Zeus as the intellectual breath or spirit ; he is the Νοῦς and his adjective is νοερός.

But here emerges another enquiry from someone who does not easily absorb the doctrine of the revolutionary Stoic. What becomes of the rest of the Pantheon, if Zeus disappears into universal mind ? The only possible reply is that they disappear also, for they are really only the names for different activities of Zeus. Philology, which certainly never created the gods, can be invoked to dispossess them. Philology, that is, must play the part of Medea, and then

One by one, at dread Medea's strain,
The sickening stars fade off the ethereal plain.

Apollo is Zeus, and Dionysos is Zeus, as surely as Zeus is Zeus.

But is Zeus, then, female as well as male ? What about Athena ?

¹ Aetius, *Placit.*, 2 ; Plut., *Epit.*, ii. 2, 3 ; Stob., *Ecl.*, i. 15.

² Cicero, *De nat. d.*, i. 10, 24.

³ Metrodorus, in *Voll. Herc.*, vi. p. 31.

This is a particularly interesting case, and one answer is to say that Zeus is both male and female, which makes the boys in the crowd to laugh. The correcter reply is that Athena's name shows that she is the Aithēr, and the Aithēr is Zeus, which has its extension (διάτασιν) from marge to blue marge.¹ Here we have again to observe that διὰ in composition betrays the presence and activity of Zeus. So Chrysippus teaches. He is Zeus for whom (δι' ὅν) are all things, and Zēn because he is the pervading cause of all things, and *he is Athena* in regard to the extension (διάτασις) of his power of rule as far as the aether.

We shall see presently the importance of this little piece of Stoic etymology, which has hitherto escaped notice. Philology has now swept the decks and carried away the sails of the earlier faith : we are scudding along under bare poles, with a prospect of falling into the Syrtis of mere negation, unless our teacher of the new school can tell us that this fiery, all-embracing, all-pervading aithēr is another name for the Providence with which men can be brought into relation. We have reached the stage where Chrysippus stood, when he declared the ruling power of the world to be the aithēr, the purest (καθαρώτατον) and clearest and most mobile (εὐκινητότατον) of all things, which carries round the whole framework (φύσις) of the world. And now we are to be told that this all-pervading power is beneficent, that it is a lover of man, that it communicates wisdom to the wise, and that the wise man thus initiated becomes himself a friend of God, a king in his own right. He has his "second birth" into the purple. "The desire of Wisdom brings him to a Kingdom." "We may," says Philodemus, in his discourse on the *Blessed Life of the Gods*, "declare the wise to be the friends of the gods, and the gods the friends of the wise." For according to Musonius, "God is lofty of soul and beneficent (εὐεργητικός) and philanthropic (φιλόανθρωπος)". "Not merely immortal and blessed," says Plutarch, "but philanthropic and care-taking (κηδεμονικός) and helpful must we assume God to be."²

And now it is time to leave our Stoic preachers and the tracts which they have been distributing to us and turn back to the hymn in the Wisdom of Solomon. Reading the seventh chapter over in the light of what we have been describing as Stoic teaching and Stoic

¹ Diog. Laert., vii. 147.

² Plut., *de comm. not.*, c. 32.

propaganda, we can see at a glance that the hymn is a Stoic product. Occasional suggestions of this have been made from time to time by critics and by commentators. They recognised the artist who described Wisdom as an intellectual spirit (*πνεῦμα νοερόν*), which penetrated and pervaded all things by reason of its purity (*διήκει καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα*). It was evident that the spirit which in all ages enters into holy souls and makes them friends of God and prophets, because God only loves the one that dwells with Wisdom, must be the same spirit which teaches us that the wise are the friends of God, and, as such, have the mantic gift. Every term used to describe Wisdom and the operations of Wisdom must now be examined for its Stoic counterpart. When in verse 22 we find the series of adjectives,

ἀκώλυτον, εὐεργετικόν, φιλόανθρωπον,

we compare the description of Zeus in Musonius,

μεγαλόφρων, εὐεργητικός, φιλόανθρωπος.

when we are told that "no defiled thing can fall into Wisdom" we recognise the language of Diogenes Laertius, that God is a being intellectual (*νοερόν*) in happiness, and non-receptive of evil (*κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπιδεκτόν*).

Is Wisdom more mobile than any motion? We quoted Chrysippus for the clearness and purity and mobility of the encircling ether. Cicero carries on the same theme.¹ "That burning heat of the world," says he, "is more luminous and much more mobile, and for that very reason more adapted to make impact on our senses than this terrestrial heat of ours, by which the things known to us are kept in place and flourish. How silly to talk of the world as senseless when it is kept together by a heat so complete and free and pure and most acute and mobile; (*acerrimo et mobilissimo*)."

And Philo, who may be regarded as a Stoic, with only the change of a Jewish gaberdine for a toga (which he borrowed from Poseidonius), tells us that the world is spherical in shape, because it thus becomes more swiftly mobile than if it had any other figure.²

We need not hesitate to say that we know what it means to declare Wisdom to be more mobile than any motion. Wisdom, then, is

¹ *De nat. deorum*, ii. 11, 30.

² Philo, *de Providentia*, ii. 56.

the soul of the world. So much had been already suggested by other writers. But if Wisdom is the soul of the world, this soul is from the Stoic point of view no other than God himself.

The same thing comes out from the other point which we made regarding the Stoic play upon *διὰ* and the words compounded therewith. We gave as specimens the Stoic proofs that Zeus pervaded (*διήκω*), administered (*διοικέω*) all things, and reached out (*διατείνω*) to the limits of the aether. Well, here they all are in the hymn to Wisdom : she is said to "pervade all things through her purity," "she reaches from marge to marge valiantly," and "she administers all things bonnily". Then Wisdom is Zeus, or, in the case of the extended aether, Zeus-Athena. Clearly we have to do with a Stoic hymn, whose theme is the pantheistic interpretation of the Universe. It is true that the pantheistic element has been disguised in our published text, which describes Sophia by saying that "there is *in her* an intellectual spirit" (*ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, κτέ*), but a reference to the Alexandrian MS. shows that we ought to read

"For she is an intellectual spirit,"

i.e. in Stoic language,

"For Wisdom is God".

The same thing comes out from the Stoic use of the term *νοερόν*. Nothing could be more characteristically Stoic. The Cosmos, says Sextus,¹ is intelligent ; if it were not so, there would have been no mind in ourselves, but if the world is *νοερός*, then God is also to be so described. We see the *νοῦς* in ourselves superior in its rich variety to any statue or any painting, and we must conclude that there is an artist at work in the region of mind, and in the world at large, regulating the same (*διοικῶν αὐτόν*). This must be God. Note the connection between the *νοῦς* that is everywhere, and its regulative power : the Stoic adjective *νοερός* may almost be equated with *θεῖος*. As Diogenes Laertius says, "the Stoics teach that God and Mind and Fate and Zeus are all one thing" ;

ἐν τε εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Δία.

It would be easy to pursue the subject of the Stoicising of the Wisdom of Solomon in other directions, where we should find traces

¹ *Adv. math.*, ix. 95.

of the work of other students. It is enough, for the present, to have shown that the missing factor in the evolution of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel is found in the Wisdom of Solomon, and that we may see underneath the oracle that,

The Word was God,

the earlier oracle that,

Wisdom was God.

It will have been observed that the results obtained in the foregoing pages have been reached to a large extent by treating Stoicism not merely as one of the great Greek philosophies, but also as Greek popular religion. The Stoic doctrine and practice was democratic enough : it was the custom of these teachers and preachers to invite bond and free, male and female, to the study of philosophy. None were excluded, and in this respect Stoicism is again seen to be a precursor of Christianity. It was inevitable that doctrines propagated in this way should develop formulæ and catchwords, that the simplest ideas should float on the current of the teaching, and the deeper considerations elude attention. But it was for this very reason that we were able to say that Sophia was a Stoic maiden, and that all her finery in the *Book of Wisdom* was borrowed array. Theologians who have discoursed on the meaning of the great passages in the *Book of Wisdom* have commonly contented themselves by saying that there were Stoic elements in the language ; that *διήκω* was Stoic and *διοικέω* and the like ; but they did not detect the reason why these and the like expressions were Stoic. Now that we know the reason to lie in a misuse of Philology (and all Greek philology from Plato onward is bad philology), we must use our acquired knowledge as a general means of interpreting the *Book of Wisdom* and its pendant, the *Prologue of St John*. We are bound to examine whether it is really true that both these writings have a pantheistic origin, and go back to Zeus and Athena, to the Soul of the World and the doctrine of Fate, to Nous and to Providence. For example, when we read of the Johannine Logos that,

In Him was Life,

we have to replace this by the antecedent formula,

In Her was Life :

and then we ask the reason why this abrupt transition in the

description of Sophia was required. The answer is that it was perfectly natural, for Sophia had been identified with Zeus ("Wisdom was God"), and Zeus had been explained as an equivalent to Zēn, and Zēn had been derived from the verb "to live" (ζῆν). The transition of thought is evident. It enables us again to say that the *Prologue of St. John* is a Stoic product, if we look at it closely enough. This enables us also to correct one of the worst lapses of the modern editors and translators of the Gospel. They found in the earliest MSS. traces of a certain spacing, or division of clauses in the sentence,

Without Him was not anything made . . . that was made ;

so they divided the text anew and produced the barbarism, "that which was made in Him was Life". A little more knowledge of Stoic formulæ would have saved both editors and translators from this unhappy mistake. For Chrysippus,¹ in teaching the meaning of Fate, says that "it is the Reason (λόγος) of all things in the world that are providentially ordered," and "it is the Reason according to which all things that have been made have been made, and all things that are being made are being made, and all things that are to be made will be made". Obviously the language of the Prologue is Chrysippean ; it covers the Stoic doctrine of Fate and ought not to be obscured by an ungainly re-casting of the sentences.

In the sources, then, of the Prologue to John, the Logos is Sophia, and Sophia is Zeus, and Zeus is Fate. The Stoics say definitely "Zeus and Fate are the same thing". "One cannot," says Proclus,² "deflect the mind of Zeus, which is, as the Stoics say, Fate". "The Nature of the Universe," says Chrysippus, "pervades the whole : everything in it down to the minutest particulars happens according to nature and the reason (λόγος) of Nature, without any impediment (ἀκωλύτως)".³

This is why, in the Wisdom of Solomon, among the other titles of Wisdom, it is said that she is "an unimpeded spirit (ἀκωλυτόν)". The doctrine of fixed fate is part of the writer's faith.

The parallel with the Christian doctrine of predestination, of

¹ Stob., *Ecl.*, ed. Wachsmuth, i. 79, 1.

² On Hesiod, *Op. et dies*, v. 105.

³ Plutarch, *de Stoic. repug.*, c. 34.

which the Scriptures show so many traces, should not be overlooked. Only we must keep in mind that the line of approach between the two cults is that of popular religion, not of philosophy. As we have intimated, the background of Stoic philosophy is popular religion. To take an illustration from this very region of Fate and Freewill, the popular method of resolving the antagonism involved in the terms is to say that the human will is a dog, tied to a carriage; the dog has a certain freedom of motion, but it is limited; when the carriage moves, the dog must move too. It should be noticed that this unfortunate dog has been versified for us in a famous passage quoted by Epictetus from Cleanthes :¹

Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and mighty Fate,
Whither my destiny may be designed;
Not slack I follow; or, reluctant yet
To follow, still I needs must follow on.

The popular concept underlies the poetic; Zeus is Fate and Fate is inevitable; in the same way it underlies the philosophical expression of determinism.

It will be an interesting study to trace the relative approach and recess of the Christian teaching to or from the Stoic. We see them, for example, in conjunction when they talk of the final conflagration, or when they begin their catechisms with the question as to the nature of God, to which the answer is that "God is a Spirit". Equally we see them elongating one from the other when in the second century Tatian makes his *Address to the Greeks* and is careful to explain that God is not a Spirit in the Stoic sense of an all-pervading power and presence in material things. The Christian apologist is, as a rule, a definitely Stoic orator; the opening chapter, for example, of the *Apology of Aristides* might be taken direct from a Stoic essay on the order and the beauty of a world governed by Providence.

Nor are there wanting literary parallels between the two religions in regard to their origin and diffusion. Diogenes Laertius, in his *lives of the philosophers*,² tells us that Zeno carried on his teaching in a cloister (*στοά*), known as the painted porch, from its being adorned with pictures by Polygnostus: in the cloister so named he composed

¹ *Encheiridion*, c. 53.

² l.c. vii. 1.

his discourses, and hence his disciples were called Stoics ; and on the same ground they carried his teaching much further (*lit.* increased the word, τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡύξησαν). One naturally thinks of Jesus and his disciples making their headquarters in Jerusalem, in the cloister named after Solomon.¹ To the mind of those who had any familiarity with Greek culture, the new movement would have suggested a new Stoa, and the early Christians would have had, at first, little occasion to complain of the parallel.

As we have said, the recognition of such popular parallelism will supply us with a new key to the elucidation of the primitive Christian doctrine, in its earliest stages of development.

¹ John x. 23, Acts iii. 11, v. 12, vi. 7.

AILRED OF RIEVAULX AND HIS BIOGRAPHER WALTER DANIEL.

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(Continued from p. 351).

IV.

AILRED AND RIEVAULX.

WALTER DANIEL was not much interested in Ailred's public life and political views ; he tells us more about his monastic life, of his experiences as novice, monk, novice-master, abbot. His biography does not show us the abbot as an administrator. We get few of those glimpses at the material and domestic life of a Cistercian abbey—the abbot on his journeys, the work of charity, the economy of the demesne farms or granges—which give interest to Jocelin's life of St. Waldef, the Abbot of Melrose. Walter is concerned with the inner life of the saint and his personal relations with his monks. His work is a good, though casual, commentary on the observance of the strict Benedictine rule enforced by the Cistercians.

Ailred's monastic life falls into three periods. For seven or eight years he was at Rievaulx as novice, monk, confidential adviser of Abbot William, and novice master. For about five years he was Abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, one of the daughter houses of Rievaulx. From the end of 1147 to his death he was Abbot of Rievaulx.

Ailred heard of Rievaulx when he was at York on the business of King David, probably in 1133 or 1134. He decided to visit the new monastery at once. He stayed with Walter Espec at Helmsley, went to Rievaulx, and next day set out for Scotland. He passed

along the road which still traverses the hillside above the valley of the Rie, where the ruins lie, and was decided by the curiosity of one of his companions to pay another visit. He could resist no longer, and after passing the customary three days in the hospice—a modest building, with low-stretched beams—he was received into the house of the novices (*probatorium*). Walter tells us how he showed his coolness during the fire which broke out in the hospice; when the distinguished young man rose with a smile and threw a jugful of English beer upon the flames, the fire miraculously ceased. In the *probatorium* his novice master was Simon, afterwards Abbot of Wardon, or Sartis, in Bedfordshire, who was still living when Walter Daniel wrote.¹

Ailred himself became novice master after his return from Rome in 1141. Walter's account of his work contains a reference of archaeological interest. According to the Benedictine rule the novices lived together—meditated, ate and slept—in a separate room, the *cella novitiorum*,² or, as it was frequently called, the *probatorium*. St. Bernard is said to have become so indifferent to his physical surroundings that he could not say, after living in the cell of the novices at Citeaux for a year, whether the room had a flat or a vaulted roof.³ The *probatorium* at Rievaulx was apparently built over a spring, for Ailred, following the example of St. Bernard, used to restrain the heats of his flesh by standing up to the neck in a bath which he had caused to be made in the floor and which was concealed by a stone.⁴ A more enduring record of his short tenure of the office of novice master is his work, the *Speculum Caritatis*. Internal evidence shows that he wrote this analysis of the religious life while he was

¹ Walter appeals to him to testify to Ailred's good qualities as a novice, Vita, f. 66 b. Unfortunately the date of his death is not known, so that this fact does not help us to date Walter's book. He was Abbot of Wardon some time before the death of Pope Innocent II. in 1143, assisted Earl Simon of Northampton to found Sawtrey Abbey in 1146 and died before 1186. If he was abbot from the foundation of Wardon (1135) Ailred must have entered Rievaulx in 1133-4. For Simon see *Monasticon*, V., 370, 522; VI., 950, Jocelin of Furness in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 261 b; *Victoria County History, Bedfordshire*, I., 365.

² See the texts in Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne* (Dijon, 1878), pp. 46, 219.

³ Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., 46.

⁴ Vita Ailredi, f. 67 d, Walter describes the bath as a "cassella testea".

actually teaching novices. He was prompted to the task by Gervase, the Abbot of Louth Park in Lincolnshire. Gervase had been one of the monks who left St. Mary's, York, to form the Cistercian community at Fountains. When in 1139 Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, decided to found a new Cistercian monastery and invited Fountains to assist him, Gervase led the colony, first to Haverholm, then to Louth Park.¹ He met Ailred and was greatly impressed by him. The young monk was just the man to write a practical guide to the religious life. Ailred excused himself on the ground that he was no scholar. He had come to Rievaulx from the kitchens, not from the schools. Gervase brushed the excuse aside. If Ailred was pleased to play with words in this way, let him prepare them heavenly food.² The reply to these entreaties was the *Speculum Caritatis*, the most intimate and vigorous of Ailred's writings. The most interesting chapters (II., 17 ff.) are cast in the form of a dialogue between Ailred and a novice. They show Ailred at work in the probatorium. In the preceding chapters he has discussed the fact that the gift of tears comes more easily to men living in the world than to the religious in the cloister. Ailred does not think that this is strange. The experiences of those who live delicately are no matter for boasting; their tears are no certain sign of grace, for humours flow easily to the heads of such people.³ And if no sense of sweetness follows the profession of a more severe life, this is no reason for depression. Ailred feels that he can best explain his meaning by recalling a conversation which he had had not long before with a novice. The newcomer had been perplexed by the contrast between the spiritual rapture of the past and the aridity of the present. His old life had certainly not been more holy, for had he lived then as he was living now he would have become almost

¹ *Monasticon*, V., 414. In the Cistercian text of the *Speculum*, copied by Migne, P.L., CXCv., 502, Abbot Gervase is concealed by the description *abbas Parchorensis*. Fortunately his Christian name is given. *Parchorensis* is a corruption of *Parcoludensis*.

² The letter from Gervase to Ailred, from which this is taken, has survived as the preface to the *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCv., 502).

³ *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii. c. 14 (P.L., CXCv., 559 d): "si igitur in his omnibus nitidus ac crassus incedas, noli, quaeso, de tuis lacrymulis multum gloriari; quae forte ut et nos aliquid secundum physicos dicamus, tumescentibus mero venis, ac diversis ciborum saporumue nidoribus, humore capitis succrescente, facilius elabuntur".

an object of worship. Ailred led him on to analyse his early experiences. They had been very delightful, but they had passed as quickly as they came. He had found equal pleasure in devout tears and in worldly jests, in the love for Christ and the companionships of the table. Now his life was very different : scanty food, rough dress, water from the well, a hard pallet. The bell rang just when sleep was sweetest. He had to toil and sweat for his daily bread ; his conversation with his fellows was confined to a few necessary words with three people.¹ He agreed gladly that this was only one side. Discipline meant peace : no wrangling or complaints of injustice, no lawsuits, no respect of persons nor regard for birth, no favouritism in the distribution of the daily tasks. He was now a member of a community united by a common interest in the common good, controlled by one man whose will was law for three hundred others.² The novice, in spite of the hardships of this new life and his own irresponsiveness, was fain to admit that he preferred it to the old. And then Ailred brought him face to face with the main issue : why in that old life, no longer preferred, had he a livelier sense of his love for Christ ? The conclusion was gradually drawn : to love is one thing, to love with full self-surrender is another and a harder thing. Love without service is like the emotion of the playgoer who weeps at the sight of sufferings which in the street he would pass unmoved. At this point the novice hung his head. He remembered how he, who had been so lightly moved to tears by his love for Christ, had been wont to cry with equal facility over the story of Arthur.³

In 1142 William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln, founded the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Revesby in Lincolnshire. In accordance with the Cistercian rule he would consult the Abbot of Rievaulx, by

¹ P.L., CXCv., 562. The abbot, prior and novice master seem to be intended : see the "Consuetudines," ch. cxiii., in Guignard, *Monuments primitifs*, p. 233.

² P.L., CXCv., 563 : "quod me miro modo delectat nulla est personarum acceptio, nulla natalium consideratio. . . . Trecentis ut reor hominibus unus hominis uoluntas est lex". This number included the conversi, novices, servants in the monastery and granges as well as the monks. It increased greatly under Ailred's rule as abbot.

³ *Ibid.*, 565 c. "Nam et in fabulis, quae uulgo de nescio quo finguntur Arcturo, memini me nonnunquam usque ad effusionem lacrymarum fuisse permotum". I shall return to the significance of this allusion : see below, p. 476.

whom he desired his foundation to be settled, about a suitable site and would build a church, refectory, dormitory, hospice, and other necessary buildings. Copies of the Benedictine rule, the Cistercian customs and the service books would be provided, and then the first inmates, twelve monks and an abbot, would take possession.¹ All Cistercian houses were dedicated to St. Mary, and Walter Daniel is careful to state that the name of St. Lawrence was preserved because the existing church was dedicated to this saint.² Abbot William chose Ailred as first Abbot of St. Lawrence.³ With this advancement began the last and most important period of his career. In 1147 he was elected Abbot of Rievaulx.

Ailred was Abbot of Rievaulx for nearly twenty years.⁴ In his time Rievaulx was the real centre of Cistercian influence in England. The once Savigniac, but now Cistercian house of Furness and the Surrey house of Waverley were older, but as Ailred once said of the latter, they were hidden away in a corner (*in angulo*).⁵ The source of the new religious life lay in Yorkshire, a few miles off the big road which goes from York to Durham through Northallerton, and within easy reach of the road through Catterick to Carlisle and Clydesdale and Galloway.⁶ And the new abbot was fitted to extend the work begun by William and his companions at Rievaulx. His prestige in the province of York was great. He had been the confidant of King David of Scotland, and in course of time he was permitted to advise King Henry II. and the powerful Earl of Leicester. For some years

¹ See the "instituta" as defined in 1152, Guignard, *op. cit.*, cc. 12, 23, pp. 253, 256.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 68 b.

³ Walter Daniel confirms the definite statement made in the *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense*, ed. Giles, p. 91. Ailred attested a charter of Roger Mowbray as "Alredo, abbate de S. Laurentio," *Cart. Rievallense*, No. 71, p. 41.

⁴ For the references in this paragraph see the chronological table, below p. 478.

⁵ In the tract on the battle of the Standard, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 338; Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen*, etc., iii., 184.

⁶ Some interesting remarks on the routes in the north of England will be found in papers by Dr. Lawlor and Canon Wilson on the Roman journeys of St. Malachi, the friend of St. Bernard and Ailred's contemporary: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, April, 1919, vol. xxxv. C. 6, pp. 238 ff.; *Scottish Historical Review*, XVIII., 69-82, 226-227.

after his election, the Archbishopric of York was ruled by a close friend and ally, Henry Murdac, himself a Cistercian. Ailred was by nature a man of alert mind, sound in judgment, interested in affairs. He excelled as an arbitrator, and adjusted more than one of the perplexing controversies which disturbed the monastic tempers of the north. In spite of constant ill health, he was an indefatigable administrator. He composed disputes between Rievaulx and her neighbours, and ruled his large family with moderation and patience. He found time, between attendances at the General Chapter of his Order at Cîteaux and visitations of the Cistercian houses in Scotland, the inspection of the monastic granges and the composition of sermons, dialogues and historical works, to take some share in the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese. In short he was one of the most considerable persons north of the Trent and would know everybody of importance. He would doubtless meet the famous Vacarius, the Italian lawyer who for many years placed his learning and skill at the service of Archbishop Roger.¹ If the two men had time for intimate speech they would find that they had much in common. The author of the *Summa de matrimonio* was keenly interested, for example, in the problem of the application in societies of non-Roman origin of the principles of the Roman and Canon Law; and Ailred, a former official in the Scottish Court, and later the biographer of St. Ninian, would have plenty to tell him about the practices of the people of Galloway.²

It is to be feared that Ailred's life was not always a peaceful one, even when he was free to forget the distractions of the world within the walls of Rievaulx. His difficulties would be increased by his

¹ The agreement between the churches of York and Durham, to which both Ailred and Vacarius were witnesses, cannot be relied on. Roger of Howden ascribes it to the year 1174, seven years after Ailred's death. (Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III., 79; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, II., 276). But Vacarius was living at York during Ailred's later years. See Liebermann, in the *English Historical Review*, XI., 305 ff.; and for the "summa de matrimonio," Maitland, *Collected Papers*, III., 87 ff.

² For the Cistercian view of Pictish marriage customs see *Vita Ailredi*, f. 71 a; and compare St. Bernard's description of Irish custom in the *Vita S. Malachie*, quoted with comments by Lawlor in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, April, 1919, vol. xxxv. C. 6, pp. 236-237. Mr. Orpen makes some illuminating remarks on this subject in his *Ireland under the Normans*, I., 124-130 (1911).

unwillingness to refuse applicants and to keep the number of the community down. Under his rule he had 140 monks, and the well managed estates provided employment for 600 lay brethren and servants. On great feast days, says Walter, the church was so packed with the brethren as to resemble a hive of bees. Ailred could not know all his monks nor control all the affairs of this large establishment.¹ He was by conviction a mild disciplinarian. It says much for his moral influence that life at Rievaulx was as smooth and happy as it was. He knew well that one of the greatest dangers which beset the monastic life is restless curiosity about external affairs ; a chatterer about war and politics might cause a wave of disturbance which would change the temper of the whole monastery.² He was a restless man himself, inclined as a young monk to let his thoughts wander, and one of his most grateful memories was of his dead friend Simon, whose presence had always sufficed to make him collect himself.³ He compared the monastic life to a castle, with its ditch, wall and keep—just such a castle as that of Lord Walter Espec at Helmsley. “Intrauit Jesus in quoddam castellum,” and no castle is strong if ditch or wall has to stand alone, or if the keep is not higher than the rest ; in this castle humility is the ditch, chastity the wall and charity the keep.⁴ But Ailred had to suffer still more from stupidity and envy within than from the assaults of curiosity without. One gathers that he was refined, courteous, gentle in manner and firm almost to obstinacy. He was, one fancies, just and impartial from principle rather than by nature ; he was inclined to favouritism and the joys of spiritual friendship with charming young men, like his friend Simon and the handsome young monk of Durham whom he had with him in his visit to St. Godric at Finchale. He was a man of pleasant and easy speech, with a memory stored with anecdotes ; he was distinguished, industrious, and physically frail—an interesting combination of qualities which tended to confine him to the society of a few chosen helpers. By special permission of the general Chapter ten

¹ See the interesting chapter in the *Vita*, ff. 69 d-70 a, printed below, p. 507.

² *Speculum Caritatis*, II., 34 (P.L., CXCv., 573 b).

³ *Speculum*, I., 34 (*Ibid.*, 542 c, d).

⁴ Sermon on the assumption of the Blessed Virgin (*ibid.* 303-304). The passage is of some archaeological interest.

years before his death the rule was relaxed in his favour, so that he might perform his abbatial duties in spite of the very distressing malady from which he suffered.¹ He lived and slept in a little room built near the infirmary, took hot baths and—as his end drew nearer—crouched over a fire. In his cell, which contained a little oratory, where he kept his glossed psalter, the Confessions of St. Augustine, the text of St. John's Gospel, some relics of saints and a little cross which had once belonged to Archbishop Henry Murdac, he would talk with his monks, sometimes twenty or more together.² A man of this kind, who offers no sharp angles to the outsider and has more to forgive than to be forgiven, provokes unreasoning exasperation in envious or unbalanced minds.³ Ailred found enemies at Rievaulx as he found them at King David's court, and Walter Daniel's life was written in part as a passionate refutation of the suggestions that he was ambitious, a wirepuller, fond of luxurious living, a successful prig who in his time had been no better than he should have been.

In two of his writings, the *Speculum Caritatis* (c. 1142) and the Dialogue on spiritual friendship, which was composed towards the end of his life, Ailred refers at some length to two intimate friendships which he had formed at Rievaulx. Simon, the companion of his youth, had died shortly before Ailred wrote the *Speculum*, which contains a lamentation over the severance of their friendship.⁴ This model young man, well born, beautiful and holy, may possibly have been the Simon de Sigillo, whose psalter was preserved in the following century in the library, together with the psalters of Abbots Ailred and Ernald, of Turolde, abbot first of Fountains and later of Trois-Fontaines, of Master Walter Daniel, Ralf Barun, Geoffrey of Dinant, Fulk, and William of Rutland.⁵ The name of Ailred's later friend

¹ Vita Ailredi, ff. 70 a, b; 72 c, d. Ailred suffered from the stone and an "artetica passio," or "colica passio" (f. 63 a).

² f. 70 a, 73 a. The psalter was after Ailred's death, preserved with others in the library of the Abbey.

³ See especially the story, told by Walter Daniel in his letter to Maurice, of the "Epicurean" who tried to throw Ailred into the fire (Vita Ailredi, f. 63 b).

⁴ P.L., CXCv., 539-546; cf. 698 b.

⁵ James, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Jesus College, Cambridge*, pp. 49-50. On the other hand Simon de Sigillo may have been the well-known canon of York who attested many charters. He had ceased to hold

is not known. The abbot tells us that he brought him from the south, apparently about the time when he became novice master. On his succession as abbot, he gradually made the young man his confidant and finally, with the consent of the brethren, sub-prior. He became the abbot's mainstay, the "staff of his old age," who soothed him when he was worried, and refreshed his leisure. He died before the Dialogue on friendship was written, for in this work Ailred tells, as characteristic of him, how during his last illness he refused any relaxation of the rule on his behalf, lest a suspicion of favouritism should injure the abbot's authority.¹ Ailred, as we have seen, was sent to Rome shortly before he became novice master at Rievaulx, and the young man whom he brought back with him from the south may have been Geoffrey of Dinant. But this is an idle guess.

Walter Daniel says nothing of the friendships which meant most to Ailred, but he gives the names of several members of the little band from whom the abbot seems to have usually chosen his companions and fellow-travellers. Henry of Beverley, Ralph of Rothwell and little Ralph (*Radulfus parvus, brevis staturae*) are named most frequently.

V.

THE DAUGHTERS OF RIEVAULX.

The years between Ailred's novitiate and his election as Abbot of Rievaulx were critical in the history of the Cistercian Order. Even in 1135 the movement which St. Bernard had revived a few years before was spreading with a rapidity which alarmed its wiser followers. Too many persons unsuited for the religious life were degrading the Order. In 1152, when it comprised 330 houses, the General Chapter

his prebend of Langtoft by 1164 (Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I., 137, No. 161). William of Newburgh got information about the death of St. William (1154) from an aged monk of Rievaulx who had once been a canon of York (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I. 81). For Tuold see St. Bernard's letter in *Opera*, I., 287 d, and Walbran, *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, I., 104-105 (Surtees Society, 1863). The monks of Durham also kept a collection of psalters which had belonged to their more distinguished predecessors: *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral*, p. 7 (Surtees Society, 1838).

¹ P.L., CXCv., 700-701.

forbade the foundation of new houses.¹ In the interval Rievaulx had sent out colonists to Wardon, Melrose, Revesby, and Dundrennan.²

The history of these monasteries must be sought elsewhere; but a few additional notes or corrections may be gleaned from the materials for the life of Ailred.

(1) The Abbey of Wardon was founded by Walter Espec in a clearing in the woods upon his Bedfordshire lands (1135). He naturally sought the co-operation of Abbot William of Rievaulx. The house was generally known as Sartis (*de essartis*) or the "clearing". We have seen that Ailred's novice master, the long-lived Simon, was probably the first Abbot of Sartis. Walter Daniel also tells us that Ivo, one of the speakers in Ailred's Dialogue on spiritual friendship, was a monk of Sartis, and that Ailred dedicated to him a noble exposition on the passage which describes the child Christ's discussion with the doctors in the Temple.

(2) The Abbey of St. Lawrence at Revesby in Lincolnshire has a place in the biography of Ailred, its first abbot. Walter Daniel says that Ailred began to work miracles at Revesby and, if the names of the witnesses are a sure guide, the abbot took with him, among the dozen colonists, lord Gospatric (doubtless a member of the great Northumbrian house), Henry the priest and Ralph the short. The under cellarer, who is unnamed, was a relative of Ailred's, and another monk was the unstable scholar who had previously caused him trouble as a novice at Rievaulx. Ralph the short and the unstable monk would seem to have returned with Ailred to Rievaulx in 1147.

The list of Ailred's immediate successors at Revesby requires revision. According to the Peterborough chronicler Ailred was succeeded by Philip, who died in 1166 and was followed by Gualo or Galo.³ Philip was certainly Abbot of St. Lawrence in 1164,⁴ and it is likely that he was the abbot of the daughter house who insulted Ailred

¹ Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne*, p. xv. This statute was not strictly observed, but checked the growth of the Order.

² Another project seems to have come to nothing. Rievaulx before 1140 was given land at Stainton, near Richmond, "ad construendam abbatiam," which was never built (*Cart. Rievallense*, pp. lvii., 261).

³ *Chronicon Angliæ Petroburgense* (edit. Giles, 1845), p. 99.

⁴ *Cartularium Rievallense*, No. 246, p. 183.

at Rievaulx. According to Walter Daniel, this unnamed abbot, on the occasion of his statutory annual visit to Rievaulx,¹ so provoked Ailred by his unjust railing and accusations that the latter was moved to pass a prophetic judgment upon him. He died soon after his return home.² It is clear from the context that this painful incident occurred just before one of Ailred's latest visits to Galloway, and the only abbot of a daughter house who died between this date and that of Ailred's own death in 1167 was Philip of St. Lawrence.³ The Peterborough chronicler, on the other hand, erred in stating that Philip was Ailred's immediate successor, for G., Abbot of St. Lawrence, attests a charter of 1147-53 recently printed by Mr. Stenton.⁴ If Gualo succeeded Philip, he had given place to Hugh before the spring of 1174 or 1175. Hugh, who was still abbot in 1193,⁵ would seem to have been succeeded by Ralph.⁶ We have, then, the following revised list of the abbots of St. Lawrence :—

Ailred, 1142-7.

G., *c.* 1150.

Philip, mentioned 1164 ; died, 1166.

Gualo, 1166.

Hugh, 1175, 1193.

Ralph.

(3) The Abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway is said to have been founded in 1142 by King David and was occupied, as Walter Daniel states, by monks from Rievaulx.⁷ Yet when Ailred visited it

¹ For this annual visit to the mother house, see the instituta of 1152, c. 34, "quod filia per annum semel uisitat matrem ecclesiam" (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 260).

² Vita Ailredi, f. 70 d. Walter's story was too precise, and he afterwards modified it in his letter to Maurice, f. 61 b. The Abbot's death may, he admits, have been due to some other cause than Ailred's prophesy.

³ Walter Daniel's chronology is confused. See below, p. 480.

⁴ *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Danclaw*, No. 348, p. 262.

⁵ 9 Kal., April, 1175 (*Cart. Rievallense*, No. 132, p. 82, and note); 10 Jan., 1177 (Stenton, No. 285, p. 215); about 1193 (*ibid.*, No. 526, p. 381).

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 524, p. 380 (end of twelfth century).

⁷ Vita Ailredi, f. 62 c. According to the statute of 1152, which presumably defined previous custom, the buildings should have been ready for the monks.

in 1165 he was lodged in a poor, leaky hovel, as the conventual buildings were not finished. It was here that the rain spared Ailred's mattress! At this time the Prior of Dundrennan was Walter, formerly one of Walter Espec's chaplains, and sacristan of Rievaulx.

(4) With Melrose, Ailred had personal as well as official ties, for between 1148 and 1159 its abbot was his old friend Waldef, formerly Prior of Kirkham. But the relations between Rievaulx and St. Waldef require more particular notice.

VI.

RIEVAULX, KIRKHAM, AND ST. WALDEF.

Waldef, Waldeve or Waltheof (erroneously Waldenus) was the second son of Simon of Saint Liz and Matilda, the daughter of the famous Englishman, Earl Waltheof. Simon's elder son, another Simon, became in due course Earl of Northampton and a supporter of King Stephen; Waldef, who was brought up at the court of his step-father, King David of Scotland, was attracted by the religious life. As a child, while his brother played at castles, he had preferred to play at churches.¹ He became a regular canon in the Augustinian priory at Nostell, near Pontefract.² About the time when his old companion Ailred entered Rievaulx he was elected Prior of Kirkham. The Augustinian priory of Kirkham had been founded by Walter Espec in 1122, ten years before he found a home for the missionaries of St. Bernard at Rievaulx. The two houses, owing their origin to the same patron, and only a few miles apart, were naturally brought into closer touch with each other than was usual in the case of religious foundations which belonged to different orders.³ The arrival of Waldef as prior of one, and of Ailred as monk in the other must have strengthened the sense of relationship. The Prior of Kirkham joined

¹ For this section, see Jocelin of Furness, *Vita S. Waldeni*, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 248 ff.; for Waldef's boyhood, 251 b.

² This was about 1130, for c. 1128 he attested one of David's charters (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 83, p. 69).

³ Their lands, for example, were naturally grouped together and they had to make exchanges and other arrangements. The abbot of Rievaulx and the prior of Kirkham were joint *custodes* of the hospital founded c. 1225 by Robert de Ros at Bolton, in the Barony of Wark-on-Tweed. See Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vol. vii. (1904), pp. 202-203.

Abbot William of Rievaulx and the other leaders of the opposition to the election of Archbishop William of York. In 1143 he accompanied them to Rome.¹ Within a few months this intimacy had a result which brought alarm and division among the canons of Kirkham. Waldef decided to take the vows of a Cistercian. If his biographer is correct in attributing the step to the influence of Ailred, Waldef had probably had it in mind for some time, since opportunities of discussion with Ailred must have been less frequent after the latter's departure for Revesby in 1142. Some of the canons were angry; the claim of the Cistercians that, as their severe rule brought its votaries nearer to perfection, an Augustinian might properly adopt it, whereas a Cistercian who left his Order for the Augustinians would be a backslider, naturally annoyed them.² They were proud of their Order, of their work as priests among the people, of their churches with their windows of stained glass. When Waldef began his noviciate at Warden, the wrath of the canons of Kirkham pursued him. They had the sympathy of Simon, the earl of Northampton, who at this time had no respect for the spiritual extravagances of his brother, and, according to Jocelin of Furness, the earl's hostility was felt to be so dangerous to the monks of Warden that Waldef withdrew to Rievaulx.

The cartulary of Rievaulx contains an interesting cirograph or agreement between the Abbey and the canons of Kirkham which (although his name is not mentioned) is almost certainly connected with Waldef's reception into the Cistercian order.³ Waldef's intention had divided the canons, several of whom desired to join their prior in

¹ John of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 142.

² Jocelin of Furness, 257; cf. the remarks of Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I., p. cxi. The relations between St. Bernard and the Augustinians were none the less very friendly; see Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., 186 ff.

³ *Cartularium Rievallense*, No. 149, p. 108. Canon Atkinson, in his introduction to this cartulary, misses the meaning of the text, which is correctly summarized in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, III., 219-220. He saw, however, that it might be related to the history of Waldef, a possibility which seems to me to be certain if the text is compared with the narrative of Jocelin of Furness. The date of the agreement is not given. Atkinson's reasons for placing it before the document, No. 347, in the cartulary (p. 243), though not quite convincing, have much force. If he is right, it must be dated c. 1139.

his momentous change of life. A struggle ensued for the possession of the priory with its rich endowments and churches. The patron, Walter Espec, tried to solve the difficulty by means of an ingenious compromise. The canons would surrender Kirkham and other property to the abbot and monks of Rievaulx, who would receive the Augustinians who remained into all the privileges of the Cistercian order. In return the prior and his followers (*auxiliarii*) were to build new buildings on an adequate scale—church, chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, etc. The new home was to be at Linton, perhaps Linton-on-Ouse, north of York, and the canons were to be permitted to remove thither their sacred vessels, books, vestments, and the stained glass from the Kirkham windows. The agreement was not executed, and ultimately Waldef went out alone.¹

He had periods of depression and misgiving. He was repelled by the insipid food, the rough garments, the hard manual labour and the incessant round of offices and saying of psalms. As his mind went back to the years which he had passed at Nostell and Kirkham, he seriously considered whether it was not his duty to return to a life which, if less austere, was better adapted for the discipline and salvation of the soul.² But he passed through this crisis. In 1148, he was elected Abbot of the daughter house at Melrose and returned to the land of his step-father, King David.

By this time Ailred was Abbot of Rievaulx, and it was therefore Waldef's duty to report to him once a year. Jocelin of Furness draws some pleasant pictures of Waldef's visits to his old friends. Once he came in summer. He arrived at midday while the brethren were asleep in the dormitory.³ He would not allow them to be disturbed but, after the customary prayer at the door of the church, he went to sit in the cloister; and, as he leaned against the wall and tried to sleep, his closest friend, the dead Abbot William, appeared to him. His thoughts were much occupied, on these occasions, with memories of William, for at another time, when the convent had gone

¹ If the cirograph must be dated before 1139 (see last note), the canons did not lose their prior until four or five years later.

² Jocelin of Furness, 257-258: "persuasum in mente habuit institutiones illorum licet leuiores, discretioni tamen uiciniore esse ac per hoc saluandis animabus aptiores" (258 a).

³ The siesta in summer is prescribed in the consuetudines, c. 83 (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 188).

to bed after compline, he stayed behind and went into the Chapter-house to pray by his tomb.¹

At Melrose Waldef had visits from Ailred. The Abbot of Rievaulx was with him, not long before his death, when a deputation came from St. Andrews to offer him the bishopric. Ailred urged him to accept, but Waldef refused, because he felt that his end was near.²

VII.

THE MIRACLES.

The *Vita Ailredi* was written to prove Ailred's claim to sanctity. It is a piece of hagiography. From Walter Daniel's point of view the external incidents of the abbot's life were important just so far as they helped to establish his case. Inevitably he saw or heard from others the things which the friend and biographer of a saint would expect to see or hear. A supernatural light shone round the infant's head ; the child uttered prophesies ; the youth was virtuous ; the monk possessed miraculous powers of healing, which could be transmitted by his staff ;³ he saw prophetic visions ; the elements favoured him, as when the rain spared his bed in the leaky house at Dundrennan ; he was rigidly ascetical, stern to himself, while gracious and forgiving to others ; his death was exemplary and, in spite of his age and intense physical sufferings, his corpse was as fresh and white as that of a little child.

As a contribution to the hagiographical literature of the twelfth century Walter's work has no special interest or originality. The repetition of familiar precedents from the gospels is the basis of the narrative ; and parallels to most of the extravagant additions can be found in any other work of the period, for example, in the miracles of St. John of Beverley, St. Cuthbert, St. Ninian, St. Kentigeon, or—to

¹ Jocelin of Furness, 264 e, 265 a.

² *Ibid.*, 266 f. Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, died in the spring of 1159, and Waldef died on 3 August in the same year. (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 76 ; Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, 1912, pp. 4-6). Ailred's visit then was in the early summer of 1159.

³ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 69 a. For the wonder-working power of the "bachall" or pastoral staff in the lives of Irish saints, see Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), Vol. I., p. clxxv.

take Ailred's contemporaries—in the lives of Godric of Finchale, William of York, Waldef of Melrose. In the descriptions of disease, apparently so precise and minute, in reality so vague, Walter Daniel adopted phrases in current use, just as the chroniclers used forms and phrases handed down from Livy or Sallust to adorn a speech or describe a military raid.¹ We must not conclude that the occasions of Ailred's miracles were invented. No one would argue that, because other saints stood up to their necks in cold water in order to expel the lusts of the flesh, the story that Ailred did the same is an invention; and it would be equally hazardous to argue that Ailred's personality had no therapeutic influence, because his cures are described in the high-flown conventional language used in other lives of saints. When Walter Daniel says that he was present in the orchard at Rievaulx one dark evening while the abbot was discussing some domestic matter with the cellarers, and remembers how Ailred hurried off to minister to a brother who had suddenly fallen sick, he is describing something which he had seen and which we can accept, although we need not believe that the subsequent recovery of the sick man happened exactly as Walter says that it did.² But at this point the historian is brought to a stand. He cannot estimate the ratio between the true and the false in the conventional narrative. He cannot measure the varying degrees of suggestion or hallucination, of folk-lore or falsehood. He can only call attention to the spiritual circumstances in which a monk of the twelfth century lived. Walter Daniel and his companions breathed an atmosphere in which they could hardly escape far-fetched or grotesque interpretations of the evidence of their senses :—

The dignities of plain occurrence then
Were tasteless, and truth's golden mean, a point
Where no sufficient pleasure could be found.

There would be no limits, save those imposed by the conventions of contemporary literature, to the conclusions which these eagerly expectant admirers of Ailred would draw from the most trivial incident. Lives of saints, as familiar to them as their psalters, set before

¹ See Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (trans. V. M. Crawford, 1907) for the whole subject. Cf. Plummer's introduction to the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, already noted, for the material of legend.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 d; below, pp. 510, 511.

them the standard of perfection to which a good monk might attain. In this period of monastic revival the standard was actually attained by many monks in all parts of Europe, for the Cistercian and other rules attracted men of fine and strong personality, natural leaders of their fellows. Ailred was one of these men, and his monks could recognize the type in their master. They would be on the watch for signs of the divine favour and would know exactly what kinds of manifestation to expect. Prepared to see everywhere traces of the direct intervention of God, their senses were deadened to the commonplace and unusually aware of strange or peculiar circumstance. A presentiment, a coincidence, a flicker of sunlight in an unusual place, might suggest a miracle for which there were a dozen parallels. They would nudge each other with significant looks and, as they talked it over, would invest the original incident with its setting of appropriate detail. The story would be complete, the witnesses ready, within an hour.¹

At the same time Walter Daniel was not unaware of the criticism which the indiscriminating regard for the miraculous had aroused. Like St. Bernard and Ailred himself, he had a sense of moral values, if not of the value of evidence. The Cistercians were tolerant of the marvellous, for they could see no bounds to the ways in which God reveals Himself in the lives of His loved ones; but they insisted that virtue, not supernatural power, is the true mark of a saint. It is better to conquer oneself than Jerusalem. The two trains of thoughts can be clearly seen in the life and teaching of St. Bernard. The stories of Bernard's miracles which were freely reported, apparently without any contradiction, in his lifetime, must have done much to arouse expectations of the marvellous in the lives of other famous Cistercians.²

¹ Walter's views are set out at length in his letter to Maurice, of which the text is given below, p. 481. He had omitted many miracles which, in his view, were well authenticated, and of all those which he included, he had been a witness or had direct information. He consents to name witnesses as a concession to Maurice, but in his opinion the virtues of Ailred are the real sanction: "michi facile credibile uidetur homines uita bona preditos facere posse quod deus uoluerit" (f. 61 a). In a later passage (f. 61 c) he develops the argument that the canons of evidence are not the same for *crimen* and *uirtus*.

² See Vacandard's discussion of the *Liber miraculorum*, which contains accounts, written down at various places during the journey, of miracles

Bernard himself says of St. Benedict, "sanctitatem miracula probant, doctrina pietatem, uita iustitiam".¹ But he also wrote that the greatest miracle in his eyes was the voluntary adoption of the rule by so many young men, who were able to live lives of such unwonted austerity as though held captive by the fear of God in a prison with open doors.² Similarly Ailred, who wrote the life of St. Ninian and inspired Reginald of Durham to set down the miracles of St. Cuthbert and Godric of Finchale, and said that the concealment of undoubted miracles of the Lord was a kind of sacrilege,³ held strong views about those who, conscious of their own virtue, exploited their sanctity by the exhibition of miraculous powers. This was the worst of all forms of spiritual inquisitiveness; it was to tempt God.⁴ Ailred's biographer was forced by the criticism to which the *Vita Ailredi* was subjected, to expound this view still more precisely. Two prelates had cast doubt upon the incidents related by Walter Daniel, and, in his letter to Maurice, Walter took up the challenge. He named witnesses who were prepared to swear to the truth of the narrative and also to several other miraculous incidents not mentioned in the Life. But at the same time he repudiates the notion that Ailred's claim to sanctity depended upon any miracles—

"The miracles of our father are great, yet bad men are able to work miracles and great ones too. But only the good possess the perfect love (*caritatem*) which Ailred had. If, says the apostle, I shall have all faith so that I am able to remove mountains, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Who will deny that to remove mountains is a great miracle? And yet without love whatever a man may do is reckoned

wrought by St. Bernard in the Rhine valley, 1146-7: *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., p. xxvii. ff. Vacandard also gives references to the pleasantries of Walter Map and other sceptics on the subject of Bernard's miracles.

¹ *Opera*, I., col. 975 c.

² *Ibid.*, col. 1076 d.

³ His tract, "De Sanctimoniali de Watton," which shows the monastic attitude at its worst, begins, "miracula Dei et manifesta divinae pietatis indicia scire et tegere, portio sacrilegii est" (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 415).

⁴ *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii., c. 34 (P.L., CXCv., 573 d): "est adhuc aliud curiositatis pessimum genus, quo tamen hi soli, qui magnarum sibi uirtutum conscii sunt, attentantur: exploratio scilicet suae sanctitatis per miraculorum exhibitionem, quod est Deum tentare".

nought, even though he is able to suspend the whole earth from one finger."¹

Walter was quite consistent. Although he defended the miracles, the personality of Ailred was the really interesting thing, on which his memory preferred to dwell. He writes well and simply when he describes Ailred talking with young monks in his private cell and tells us about his literary work and narrates the story of his last days and death. He was at bottom less certain about the miracles. It is significant that, in the letter to Maurice, he withdraws his support from the one miraculous incident in the *Life* which was not altogether creditable to Ailred. Ailred had lost his temper with a scurrilous abbot of a daughter house and foretold that evil would befall him. Soon after the tiresome abbot died, and in the *Life* Walter regarded his death as a fulfilment of Ailred's prophecy; but in the letter to Maurice he says that he cannot vouch for the connection and has now reason to believe that death was due to other causes.² It is possible, indeed, that he was led on to the generalizations, which I have just quoted, by the thought that the competition in miracles—prevalent between the supporters of rival saints—was a most ineffective way to maintain Cistercian influence and ideals. Bad men could work miracles. Just at this time the supporters of Saint William of York, the archbishop whom, in 1140, William of Rievaulx had opposed as a simoniac, were pressing the claims of their hero.³ Miracles were worked at his tomb as startling as any worked at the tomb of St. John of Beverley. And a few years later we find St. William appropriating the most

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 63 a. The whole passage is important and is given in full below, pp. 489, 490.

² Vita Ailredi, f. 61 b (foot). The story, as originally told, is in f. 70 d. For comments, see above, p. 462. Walter also modified slightly the story of the novice who tried in vain to leave the monastery. After giving the names of witnesses, he proceeds (f. 61 b, top) "quod eciam miraculum michi uenerabilis pater Aldredus expressit, non quidem quasi miraculum propter suam humilitatem, set quasi quandam praeclaram fortunam propter meam infirmitatem".

³ St. William was restored to the see after Henry Murdac's death but died almost immediately, 1154 (*Historians of the Church of York*, III., 396-397). William of Newburgh refutes the suspicion that he was poisoned (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 81). A collection of St. William's miracles is printed from Dodsworth MS. 215, by Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, II., 531-543.

remarkable of Ailred's cures, the miraculous extraction of a live frog which had been swallowed by mistake at an earlier stage of its career.¹

Walter had to meet a criticism which affected him more than the scepticism about Ailred's miracles. He was attacked for his assertion that Ailred, during his youth at King David's court, had lived like a monk. The implication was that Ailred's secular life had been perfectly chaste, as Waldef's was said to have been,² and as Ailred—using this same phrase—said that the life of the other companion of his youth, Earl Henry, had been.³ Walter Daniel, presumably, intended his readers to take the phrase in the same sense.⁴ Before he wrote his apologia to Maurice, he had been reminded of some evidence—perhaps the self-accusing passages which were quoted by a later critic from Ailred's own writings⁵—which pointed the other way. His explanation was interesting if not ingenuous. If his critics, he said, had been familiar with the practice of the schools, they would have realized that he was using a rhetorical figure, by which the whole is known from the part. He was not thinking of Ailred's chastity when he said that Ailred in his secular days lived like a monk; the phrase was, of course, inapplicable to one whose continence had not been perfect. He was thinking of Ailred's humility. In that single virtue the whole range of his future perfection was anticipated.⁶

¹ Ailred extracted a frog which a youth had swallowed while drinking (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 71 b). In 1177 a woman who had swallowed a frog cooked in bread was cured at the tomb of St. William (Raine, *op. cit.*, II., 284, 535).

² *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 251 e: "illud singulare decus, uirginitatis uidelicet candidaturam ac utero matris secum uexit ad caelum".

³ In the tract on the Battle of the Standard, Ailred describes Henry as so good "ut et in rege monachum, et in monacho regem praetendere uideretur" (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 342; Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., iii., 191). Similarly of Richard, Prior of Hexham, Ailred says, "qui etiam cum esset in saeculo, et insigne castitatis et sobrietatis fere monachus putaretur" (Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 193).

⁴ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 64 a, below, p. 493.

⁵ *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstmann, II., 552-553. The writer refers to a passage in Ailred's work *De institutis inclusarum*, written for his sister, and to another in the *De Speculo Caritatis*, lib. i., c. 28.

⁶ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 62 c, d; below, p. 488. Walter describes the rhetorical figure as *intellectio*. He appears to have *synecdoche* in mind. Cf. Bede, *De schematis et tropis sacrae scripturae liber* (P.L., XC., col. 182): "Synecdoche est significatio pleni intellectus capax, cum plus minusue pronuntiat; aut enim a parte totum ostendit".

VIII.

CONCLUSION.

Walter, we have seen, felt some complacency in his knowledge of the technicalities of the schools. The world would sometimes break into the life of the cloister. Ailred also could not disregard it. While he was meditating on the burdens of Isaiah or on the intimacies of spiritual friendship, he could not forget his political interests. As a public man, he was indeed not allowed to forget them. His knowledge of English history, the services of his reconciling influence between Norman and Englishman, between the church of Rome and the old ecclesiastical traditions of Northumbria, were too great to be neglected in that age of conscious transition. Cistercian house though it was, Rievaulx might have become a school of historical studies if a later abbot had not intervened. At the close of the century Abbot Ernald, who had himself some pretensions to historical learning, decided that interests of this kind were not quite consistent with the purpose of the Cistercian rule. He could not encourage his monks to pursue them. Yet he felt that the great events of the twelfth century deserved a northern chronicler. He gave his encouragement, therefore, to a learned canon in the neighbouring Austinian priory. Admirers of the thoughtful and vivacious history of William of Newburgh have not always remembered to spare a little gratitude to Ernald of Rievaulx for his share in William's work.¹

Even in the interests of the Cistercian rule, it was perhaps unwise of Abbot Ernald to check the study of history. Times were changing and Rievaulx could not hope to retain its influence as a centre of theologians and contemplatives. Contemplative study is born of experiences which no traditional discipline can transmit. As for theological work, a provincial monastery, even though it possessed the nucleus of a good library, could not provide the stimulus or equipment of the schools. Theology was already, in Ailred's later days, a science, a professional striving between experts, not a matter of easygoing reflection upon the Scriptures and the Fathers. The tradition established

¹ See William of Newburgh's dedication of his chronicle (*circa* 1198) to Abbot Ernaldus, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 3-4. The Canon Picard, the first editor of William, who is followed by Hearne, confused Ernaldus with Ailred.

by William, Maurice, Ailred and Walter Daniel, died with Nicholas of Rievaulx early in the following century. We may be sure that, after they went, the world was not kept out. Building, sheep-farming, contentions with neighbours would be quite as distracting as historical studies.

The men whom I have just named were all good Cistercians, but were by no means of the same type. Indeed, the differences in temperament between Ailred and Walter Daniel can be seen very clearly in their attitudes towards this problem of the cloister and the world. Walter, as though half-conscious of the weakness of his impulsive and imaginative nature, was more literal. The rule was in his mind the important thing, both in the monastic life and the teaching of the schools. He knew all about the divisions of philosophy and the figures of rhetoric. Ailred—untrained though he was—understood the spirit of Cicero or of St. Augustine far better than Walter did. Walter wrote well and clearly about the Cistercian rule :¹ he could analyse with some insight the perturbations of the soul which is hesitating to enter the “*cubiculum Dei*”²; but he could never have written Ailred’s dialogue between himself and the novice, in which the disillusionment and acedia which beset the monastic life are fearlessly faced. Walter gives the impression that the ideas which he wished to convey were not quite his own; he misunderstood their bearing and drifted into irrelevance, as when he made a point of the fact that Cicero’s *Topics* are not read in church. A lengthy passage in which he tries to expound Ailred’s attitude to grammatical rules is a good example of his uncertainty of touch. He realised that Ailred had intellectual ability (*anima ingeniosa*) and was not an uneducated man (*rusticus*); but he felt that the abbot’s characteristics as a teacher and writer required some explanation. Stimulating though he was, Ailred did not observe the methods of the schools. He had an instinctive rather than a trained appreciation of the so-called liberal arts. His comprehension was spiritual, more penetrating than the learning of those who acquire an uncertain knowledge of Aristotelian concepts or Pythagorean calculations. His ready intelligence passed beyond these things to the knowledge of Him who inhabits the region of real truth and unapproachable light (*ipse autem omnem*

¹ See below, p. 495.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 65 a.

numerum transuolans uelocitate ingenii sui et omnem compositionem figure fide uel facte supergrediens ipsum intellexit in scripturis et docuit, qui solus habet immortalitatem ubi non est numerus et lucem habitat inaccessibilem ubi non apparet figura sed ipsa ueritas que finis recte intelligitur uniuerse doctrine naturalis).

Walter goes on to say that, where the truth is present, words will not be wanting. Truth is self-sufficient and suffers from admixture with other things. Words are powerless to persuade without reason which is a part of truth ; for mere endless words may have no more meaning than the barking of a dog. And so Ailred refused to exalt the rules of grammar or the pursuit of fine speech above the truth.¹ This passage, for anyone interested in the history of medieval thought, possesses some significance ; it shows how the immediate successors of St. Bernard regarded the new activities of the schools. Walter Daniel in a Cistercian monastery in Yorkshire was saying what, a few years later, another Master Walter, the well-known prior of St. Victor, was to say, only with much more vehemence, in his book *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Francie*.² But, as an exposition of Ailred's attitude, the passage is misleading. Ailred was certainly not interested in the rules of grammar or rhetoric, and no doubt would have agreed that the exercises of the schools were not a necessary preliminary to the investigation of divine truth. To this extent—and possibly Walter did not intend to go further—his biographer's analysis was correct : but, carried away as usual by his train of thought, he suggests in his master a contempt for learning which was quite foreign to Ailred's mind. Ailred, like St. Bernard, passed his boyhood among people with intellectual interests. His family cherished a tradition of learning.³ He had begun as a boy to learn grammar in the best sense of the word, the sense in which John of Salisbury and the best scholars of the century insisted that it should be used, the literary study of the

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 67 d.

² The four labyrinths were Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Petrus Lombardus, and Peter of Poitiers. For extracts from the book and bibliography of Walter of St. Victor, see Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II., 124-127. The clearest expression of the opposite view, that the liberal arts are necessary to theological investigations (provided that rhetoric is subdued) was given by Robert of Melun.

³ See Ailred on the Saints of Hexham, in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., p. 190 ; and Raine's preface, pp. li.-lii.

Latin authors.¹ He protested, it is true, against the restless curiosity of those who could not discriminate between truth and vain philosophy. He had no patience with the monk who fused his meditations on the Scriptures with tags from the classics, the Gospels with Virgil, the prophets with Horace, Paul with Cicero.² But, again like St. Bernard, he was attacking the moral dangers which beset the learned, not learning itself. Indeed, his writings owe much of their attractiveness to a certain scholarly quality in them. His mind was simple and direct, but not abrupt or impatient of argument. As a boy he had rejoiced in Cicero's *De Amicitia* ³; in later life his favourite book was the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, his favourite gospel that of St. John. In one of his last works, the dialogue on spiritual friendship, he gathered together and gave a spiritual meaning to the memories of a life which had sought its inspiration in the companionship of these books. He made Cicero his model, and found in the intense human friendships which had meant so much to him the foreshadowing of finer, more intense, relations. And as he wrote his mind lingered more than once over Augustine's haunting phrase, charged with Virgilian memories, "et quid erat, quod me delectabat, nisi amare et amari".

A casual reference in the *Speculum Caritatis* suggests that Ailred was acquainted with the Arthurian legend. The novice who

¹ Cf. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, lib. i., c. 13, in his *Opera*, edit. Giles, v. 34 (1848). Ailred was at school at Hexham or Durham (below, note 3). For the Yorkshire schools and *grammatici* in the twelfth century, see Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, in the Record Series of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Vol. XXVII. (1899). Archbishop Thomas I. of York founded the school at York, and Archbishop Thomas II. was educated there (Hugh the Chantor, in Raine, *Hist. of the Church of York*, II., 107, 124).

² *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii., c. 24 (P.L., CXCIV., 573).

³ Prologue to the *De spirituali amicitia* (P.L., CXCIV., col. 659 a) : "cum adhuc puer essem in scholis et sociorum meorum me gratia plurimum delectaret, inter mores et uitia quibus illa aetas periclitari solet tota se mens mea dedit affectui et deuouit amori. . . . Tandem uenit mihi in manu liber quem de amicitia Tullius scripsit". Ailred felt the distaste of the Ciceronian for the *sermo barbaricus* of the early English writers who, owing to their lack of culture, were denied the gift of eloquent speech (*Vita Niniani*, prologus, ed. Forbes in the *Historians of Scotland*, V., 137, Edinburgh, 1874). That Ailred, in his life of St. Ninian, modernized an old Latin, not an English or British work, has recently been urged by Karl Strecker, after a careful and exhaustive examination of the literary history of St. Ninian (*Neues Archiv*, 1920, XLIII., 1-26).

was perplexed by the fact that religious emotion came at first less readily in Rievaulx than in his secular life, confessed to Ailred that he had often shed tears over the story of a certain Arthur.¹ The *Speculum Caritatis* was written before the end of 1142, and this reference shows that the first draft of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum*, or some account of its contents, must have reached the north of England at a very early date.² Possibly Ailred had noted the first stirrings of the interest which Lord Walter Espec and his household at Helmsley took in this strange history, and which led Walter to borrow the book from his friend, Earl Robert of Gloucester, and to pass it on to friends in Lincolnshire.³ To Ailred, with his English traditions and keen historical sense, the story of Arthur was doubtless as repellent as, fifty years later, it was to William of Newburgh. The chronological system of Bede had no room for the fanciful exploits of this Welsh hero, this sham Alexander.⁴ And Ailred felt that Arthur and his like were dangerous to more than historical truth; they drew the idle tears of young men who are always too willing to find in the luxury of sentiment a relief from the austere pursuit of Christ. But he could not know the full extent of the danger. He could not foresee that the Arthurian legend would give the sanction of beauty to most of those earthly joys and activities which he was training his novices to forget. The spirit of romance, a mightier influence than St. Bernard's, was abroad. In the course of time it has submitted even monks and cloisters to its fancies. To-day it reigns in the place where Ailred taught, and waves its magic wand over the ruins of Rievaulx.

¹ *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCv., ed. 565 c.).

² Ailred's reference strengthens the case for the existence of a first draft of Geoffrey's work, c. 1138. For the evidence see W. Lewis Jones, in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1898-1900, pp. 62-67.

³ Walter Espec borrowed it for Dame Custance, wife of Ralf fitz Gilbert, lord of Scampton; she was interested in the compilation of Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles* and helped Gaimar to collect materials. See *Lestorie des Engles* (Rolls Series, 1888-9), I., 275-276; II., ix. ff.

⁴ In his preface to the *Historia Rerum Anglicanarum*, William of Newburgh criticized Geoffrey of Monmouth mercilessly. He regarded him as an impudent liar. "Profecto minimum digitum sui Arturi grossiorem facit dorso Alexandri magni" (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 17).

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

In the following table I have inserted the ascertainable dates of Ailred's life and writings. Not much information exists about his administration as abbot, but some idea of the additions to the property of Rievaulx during his rule may be obtained from a summary of the abbey's possessions, printed by Atkinson from a register in the Cottonian MSS. (*Cartularium Rievallensium*, 260-261). Walter Daniel, who was apparently the abbot's amanuensis or copyist (*Vita*, f. 68 a), gives useful information on the order of Ailred's more important writings (f. 70 b, c). The tract on the origin of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and of Fountains should be deleted from the list of Ailred's writings given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and elsewhere; it is identical with the tract edited by Walbran in the first volume of his *Memorials of Fountains Abbey* (Surtees Society, 1863), from a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Ailred's dialogue, *De Anima* (his last work), which has not been printed with his other works, survives in Bodleian MS. E. Mus. 224 (a little book of 62 leaves, written *c.* 1200) and in a Durham MS. B. iv. 25, ff. 83-128, where it follows William the Archdeacon on the Sentences (Rud., *Codicum MSS. ecclesiæ cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus classicus*, Durham, 1825, p. 219).

c. 1110. Birth of Ailred (above, p. 339).

c. 1124. After his boyhood at Hexham, where he probably went to school (cf. the prologue to the *De Spirituali Amicitia*, P.L., CXCV., col. 659 a, with his reference to his boyhood in his work on the Saints of Hexham, Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 174), Ailred was received by David, King of Scotland, and brought up with the King's son, Henry, and his stepson, Waldef. He became seneschal or *economus* at Court (above, p. 343).

c. 1133-4. Ailred entered Rievaulx on his return from a journey on King David's business to Archbishop Thurstan at York. (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 65 b—the Cistercians had arrived "ferme

- ante duos annos"; above, p. 453). His novice master was Simon, afterwards Abbot of Wardon.
1138. The Battle of the Standard. Death of Eilaf, Ailred's father. Ailred probably accompanied William, Abbot of Rievaulx, to Wark, in order to arrange the surrender of Walter Espec's castle to King David. (Above, pp. 340, 348). By this time Waldef was Prior of Kirkham.
1140. Death of Archbishop Thurstan and dispute about the election of Archbishop William.
1141. Ailred sent to Rome by Abbot William (Vita Ailredi, f. 67 b. For the date see above, p. 347).
- 1141-2. Ailred novice master of Rievaulx. In this year he wrote the *Speculum Caritatis* at the request of Gervase, Abbot of Louth Park (above, p. 454, cf. Vita Ailredi, f. 67 d, below, p. 500).
- 1142-7. Ailred, first Abbot St. Lawrence, the daughter house of Rievaulx or Revesby (above, p. 456).
- c. 1144-8. Waldef, a monk at Rievaulx (above, p. 464).
- 1145, 2 August. Death of William, first Abbot of Rievaulx. Election of Maurice as his successor. (For the life and writings of Maurice, see *English Historical Review*, January, 1921, Vol. XXXVI., 17 ff.).
- 1147, 30 November. First certain reference to Ailred as Abbot of Rievaulx. He co-operated with Bishop William of Durham and others in the inquiry which settled the dispute about the seat of the prior at Durham (Greenwell, *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, p. lxi., Surtees Society, 1872).
1151. Ailred's judgment in the disputes between the Abbeys of Savigny (Normandy) and Furness for the control of Byland Abbey (*Monasticon*, V., 353).
1152. Important general chapter at Citeaux.¹
- 1152-3. Ailred wrote his work, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* before Henry II. became king, since the prologue is addressed to him as Duke of Normandy (*Dccem Scriptores*, col. 347).

¹ Ailred, of course, must have attended general chapters at Citeaux; and Reginald of Durham definitely refers to one journey (above, p. 341 n.). We may assume that he was present at the important general chapter in September, 1152.

It contains a eulogy on King David, recently dead. The work was finished, therefore, between 24 May, 1153, the date of David's death, and 25 October, 1154, the date of King Stephen's death.¹

1155. Ailred's work on the Saints of Hexham was probably based on a discourse delivered on the occasion of their translation on 3 March, 1155.²

c. 1157. The general chapter at Citeaux allowed Ailred certain privileges in view of his physical infirmities. Walter Daniel states that this action was taken ten years before Ailred's death (*Vita*, f. 70 a).

1159. Ailred was at Melrose when, in the summer of 1159, Abbot Waldef was offered the bishopric of St. Andrews (above, p. 466). It was doubtless on his way to or from Melrose that he visited Finchale and St. Godric prophesied the death of St. Robert of Newminster which occurred 7 June, 1159. (Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de uita et miraculis S. Godrici heremitaie de Finchale*, edit. Stevenson, pp. 169-173, 176-177, Surtees Society, 1847).

1160, 21 December. Pope Alexander III. sent to Ailred and the monks of Rievaulx a bull of protection and confirmation (*Cartularium Rievallense*, pp. 185-188). Earlier in the year Ailred had been partly responsible for the recognition of Alexander III. by King Henry (above, p. 350).

1163, October. The translation of St. Edward the Confessor. Ailred composed his *Vita Confessoris* at the request of his kinsman, Lawrence, Abbot of Westminster (above, p. 349.).

1163-4. Publication of the sermons on Isaiah (*De oneribus*), which were dedicated to Gilbert, Bishop of London, i.e. after April, 1163, when Gilbert Foliot was removed from

¹ The *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense* (ed. Giles) ascribes this or a similar work to the year 1156, "Sanctus Alredus abbas Rievallensis ex abbate Revesbiensi Epitaphium regum Scotorum scripsit" (p. 96). For the *Genealogia* see also *Vita*, f. 70 b.

² Ailred's words are, "anno autem ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto, paratis omnibus, Prior diem sollemnem quo sacrae reliquiae transferrentur constituit quinto nonas Martii" (Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 194). This was 3 March, 115⁴₅.

Hereford to London. As the twenty-fourth sermon contains a reference to the cardinal Octavian, the anti-pope Victor IV., who died at Lucca on 20 April, 1164, the series would seem to have been preached before this date (P.L., CXCv., col. 361, 460-461). According to Walter Daniel's chronological account, the sermons were written before the life of the Confessor (Vita, f. 70 b).

1164. Ailred, at Kirksted, attested the agreement between the religious orders of Cîteaux and Sempringham (*Cartularium Rievallense*, pp. 181-183).

1165. Ailred visited the daughter house at Dundrennan, in Galloway. The date is fixed by his presence at Kirkcudbright on St. Cuthbert's day, 20 March, 1164-5 (Reginald of Durham *De admirandis Beati Cuthberti uirtutibus*, pp. 178-179). In his letter to Maurice Walter Daniel fixes it as two years before Ailred's death (Vita Ailredi, f. 62 b); but in the Life proper he refers only to a visit made four years before the abbot's death (f. 71 c; below, pp. 512-513 and note). Ailred doubtless was frequently in Scotland.

1166. If the chronology of another story told by Reginald of Durham (*ibid.*, pp. 180-188) can be accepted, Ailred was in Lothian and the neighbourhood of Melrose in the spring of 1166. In this year he was at work on his *De Anima*, which he left unfinished (Vita, f. 70 c).

1167, 12 January. Death of Ailred.

The evidence for dating those of Ailred's writings which are not mentioned in the preceding table is meagre. The description of the Battle of the Standard was apparently written after the death of Walter Espec, whose eulogy is couched in the past tense. Walter is said by a not very reliable source to have retired to Rievaulx in 1153, and to have died two years later at a great age; the date of his burial is given as 15 March, 115⁴₅ (*Cartularium Rievallense*, p. 264-265). The dialogue, *De Spirituali Amicitia*, also belongs to the last years of Ailred's life, for the abbot describes himself as an old man. Walter dated it between the sermons on Isaiah and the work written for Ailred's sister on the life of the recluse. This was followed by the life of the Confessor (Vita, f. 70 c).

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM MS. Q. B. 7 OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Patri¹ et domino eximie sanctitatis uiro Mauricio suo Walterus^{f. 61 a.} Danielis sinceram et nimis deuotam dileccionem. Breuitati studens longiori processioni non indulgeo gressum, quamquam prelati duo illi, qui nostra quadam incertitudine obfuscare nituntur, me cogant procedere longius et quasi per angariam in sue cupiunt suspicionis impellere uoraginem et infidelitate maculare. Set absit a filio tuo ut scienter cauterio falsitatis uri uelit uel ualeat, qui nouit quod sine ueritate salus nulla consistat. Igitur, domine, ut ad rem ueniam iniungis quatinus interseram nomina testium, qui conscii michi existunt in relacione miraculorum, que in uita patris nostri uenerabilis abbatis Ryeuallensis Aldredi deo auctore descripsi, tum propter simplices qui magna non capiunt nisi multi eadem dicant, tum propter infideles qui etiam uera subsannant, tum quoque propter duos, ni fallor, illos prelatos, qui uobis legentibus ipsa miracula credere noluerunt, cum tamen omnibus ad meam uero defensionem sufficere debuisset, quod in serie ipsius operis asserui me non nisi uisa uel audita in medium protulisse, plurimaque preclara pretermisisse que sanctorum ore monachorum probata susceperam. Quoniam autem uotis tuis mea militat uoluntas et deseruit affectus et obtemperat caritas in iussione tua, licet non eiusdem libri

¹ The manuscript, which measures 267 mm. × 189 mm., is written in two columns. The references a, b, c, d refer to the four columns of each folio, recto (a, b) and verso (c, d). The relation between the letter to Maurice, here printed in full from the Jesus College MS., and the life proper is described in the third section of the preceding paper. The marginal references N.L., I., N.L., II., are to Horstmann's edition of the *Nova Legenda Anglie* (Oxford, 1901): of which the first volume (pp. 41-46) contains the summary of Walter Daniel's work made by John of Tynemouth and printed by the Bollandists from Capgrave's edition, and the second volume (pp. 544-553) contains the summary found in the Bury MS., now MS. Bodl. 240. See above, p. 333. I have standardized the spelling of the copyist, who uses *v* and *u* somewhat arbitrarily.

corpore quo uita patris continetur contestantia uocabula uirorum fidelium uelim constringi, hoc tamen agam ut hac epulari pagina conpingantur et excellenciora precedant miracula, uel eciam subsequantur. Quoniam admodum pauci¹ hoc genus assercionis in uitas patrum describendas seruauerunt, ut singulos nominatim ponerent per quos acceperant que scriptitabant, et michi facile credibile uidetur homines uita bona peditos facere posse quod deus uoluerit, sic ut digestus est ille libellus per consilium amicorum remansit, imperii duntaxat tui effectum, ut dixi, translato ad presentem paginam, ut ad hanc quoque mittas quosque infideles et eos maxime, qui me finxisse mendacium suspicari maluerint. Igitur ut secundum ordinem procedam et primo positione libri miraculo proprios testes attribuiam, et secundo suos, et sic de ceteris agam, ecce primum illud, quod est de nouicio a monasterio recedente, quem patris prece dominus miserecorditer reduxit. Isti testes confirmant Henricus et Robertus Beuerlacenses monachi et sacerdotes et Radulphus Diaconus, cognomento paruus et ipse monachus probatissimus, et alii plures. Quod eciam miraculum michi uenerabilis pater I Aldredus expressit non quidem quasi miraculum propter suam humilitatem, set quasi quandam preclaram fortunam propter meam infirmitatem. Sequuntur tria illa nobilissima miracula que per illum fecit dominus, eodem existente abbate apud sanctum Laurencium, que talibus testibus fulciuntur, domino uidelicet Gospatrico monacho et sacerdote nostro et Henrico presbitero et Radulpho paruo et aliis multis. Post hec primum est quod pater sanctissimus per sompnum uidit de monacho suo crastina die uenturo ad portam monasterii Rieuallensis et cito inter manus eius morituro. Huic signo tot interfuere testes quot illi morienti assistebant fratres, quibus pater ante monachi mortem retulit uisionem. Ex tres quibus tantum nominabo, dominum uidelicet Danielelem patrem meum, Galfridum sacristam, Henricum Beuerlacensem. Huic miraculo succedit illud quod fratrem cardiaca passione dure detentum, qui mutus fuerat effectus, sanum per dei gratiam reddidit et loquentem. De hoc signo testimonium perhibet

¹ The practice of authenticating miracles with a list of witnesses was frequently adopted about this time, doubtless in order to avoid such criticism as that of which Walter Daniel complains. Jocelin's life of St. Waldef (c. 1210) and the various descriptions (edited by Raine in the *Historians of the Church of York*) of the miracles wrought at the tomb of St. John of Beverley, are cases in point. The most important and difficult example is, of course, that of St. Bernard; see above, p. 468.

idem ipse qui pertulit incomodum et per patrem sensit remedium, et dicitur Beniamin, et Willelmus Ruffus monachus et sacerdos, et Martinus diaconus conseruus meus in domino et amicus carissimus. Porro testes miraculi subsequents hii sunt, Radulphus de Rodewella sacerdos et bene monachus, et Radulphus paruus, et conuersus opilio noster qui duobus diebus loqui non ualens meritis patris loquelam recepit. Nam de se reddit ipse testimonium et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius. Est autem Argarus nomen eius. Miraculum quod huic subicitur est de adolescente qui, tactus dolore intolerabili intrinsecus et uelut in extremis positus, ad tactum et benedictionem venerabilis uiri continuo conualuit. Huic signo interfui et nonnulli fratres nostri mecum, ex quibus duos assumam in testimonium ut in ore duorum uel trium stet omne uerbum nostrum. Et unus quidem erit Arnaldus noster quondam cellerarius, alter uero Thomas Eboracensis diaconus bone uite adolescens et sancte filius conuersationis. Sane de miraculo quod sequitur nolo nominatim testes producere, quia non expedit, quia potest fieri ut non sit mortuus abbas ille, de quo continetur, propter quod uidetur esse, cum tamen de illo ita euenerit quomodo in libro scriptum habetur.¹ Istud miraculum uel, si ita placet dici, similitudinem miraculi. Illud de rana deglutita et homine monstruoso et laruali effigie | f. 61 c. deturpato, set per venerabilem patrem sanato et a periculo mortis liberato, subsequi certum constat. De quo plane signo certificando testes presto sunt veraces, uidelicet Robertus supportarius noster, uir bonus et optimus, et Henricus Beuerlacensis et Baldricus conuersus frater probatus in multis et pene innumerabiles uiri in Galwadia. Ceteris omnibus que sequuntur interfui ego ipse, excepto quod eum non uidi raptum in corpore, an extra corpus nescio, deus scit, ad mellifluas uisiones et inenarrabiles, nisi quod ipse michi secreto retulit tales se uisus degustasse, quorum comparacione in oblectacione dulcedimis quod in carne quoquomodo existeret penitus obliuisceretur, et omnia temporalia si ulla essent omni modo ignoraret. Credant ergo qui uoluerint et qui uoluerint legant, et qui utrumque noluerint utrumque contempnant et ea despiciant que scripsi de patre filius, dum tamen aduertant semper ignobiles animos degeneres parturire affectus, resque ueritate signatas non aliter approbare quam falsas, id est, iudicio iniuste indignacionis non equi libra examinis. Poterat sufficere ad credulitatem fidelium cordibus

¹ Below, f. 70 d, p. 511, and above, pp. 462, 470.

quod dixi me non nisi que uideram vel que alii conspexerant et michi retulerunt scripsisse; at prelati duo illi nisi testata non capiunt argumentatione uerborum publica proclamatione prolatorum, tanquam crimen et uirtus una fidei facilitate fulciantur, ut hoc et illud parem agnitionis discrecionem admittant, cum uirtus utique uelut similitudo lucis ex sui qualitate sese conspicabilem prebeat etiam dormitantibus oculis, crimen autem uicii colore uestitum tanquam figura tenebrarum non facile uideri ualeat, sicut scriptum est¹: Delicta quis intelligit? Quicumque igitur quod uerum est credere contempnit, si honesti tamen habuerit lucem quod predicatur, ipse quidem tenebrosus se monstrat auditorem qui luminis imaginem non agnoscit. Nam si lux esset lucis agnosceret membrum quod est uerum, quia similia similibus familiarem conspectum prestare consuerunt. Malus autem mali causam tuetur ut suam. Et facilius credit huiusmodi horrorem tenebrarum lucis fulgorem induisse, quam naturam luminis perseuerasse quod fuerat. Prothpudor! non credunt prelati, negligentes prelati, merita sancti miracula peperisse, cum non sit difficile patri luminum in omnibus quod uoluerit generare, credentibus que christus | promittat² opera eius admirantibus: maiora hiis facietis. At qui bona non facit non credit. Qui autem faciunt credunt. Non autem credere non possunt que operantur. Boni ergo maliue actio fidem recipit uel contempnit. Mali igitur subsannant facta bonorum. Non itaque mirum si tales titubant accomodare fidem uirtutibus patris nostri. Tuum est prorsus repugnare³ nolentibus obaudire. Oppone turbam testium⁴ temeritati eorum et conuince ignauiam hesitare non gratiam. Dico: Intellectus bonus omnibus facientibus eum. Quia enim non faciunt bonum intellectum, non intelligunt rectum. Quid autem rectius quam ut intelligamus sobrie et pie et iuste uiuentibus a deo dari uirtutis opera? Siquidem omni habenti dabitur et habundabit.⁵ Rectissime tu, ergo, pater mi, tibi enim loquor, tu inquam crede me scripsisse ea tantum que uidi et audiui de patre meo, nec plane omnia uerum et nonnulla pretermisi relatione dignissima. De quorum etiam multitudine hic iam in hac epistola quatuor ponam que tibi placere non diffido.

¹ Ps. xviii., 13.

² Joh. xiv., 12: Qui credit in me opera, quae ego facio, et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet.

³ MS. *repugnare*.

⁴ M.S. *testum*.

⁵ Matt. xiii., 12.

Igitur infantulus iacebat in cunis Aldredus et ecce aduenit ad domum patris eius archidiaconus quidam nomine Willelmus filius Thole uir preclare gratie.¹ Erat autem idem propinquus Aldredi secundum carnem et multum quoque matrem eius dilexit et patrem. Is ergo intrans in domum, ut dixi, ubi Aldredus iacebat in cunis, uidet faciem illius in speciem solis conuersam et splendidissimis chorscare radiis et tantum sibi mutuasse luminis, ut sue manus apposite umbra succederet a parte auersa, cum in plano palme quod respondebat ad faciem infantis quasi solaris lucis fulgore splendescere uideretur, tamque serenus innotuit intuentis aspectibus paruuli uultus ut tanquam in speculo in hoc sui perfecte imaginem intueretur. Miratur homo nouum solem exortum in domo, parentibus refert incomparabilem gloriam in nati sui facie sibi apparuisse. Fit gaudium audientibus hec et felicitatis exordia in primordiis Aldredi pululasse intelligentes exultant. Affirmant illum in matura etate hominem uirtutis esse futurum cui tam eminens gratia in etatula infancie arrisisset. Hec pater Aldredi narrauit illi, hec mater, hec fratres retulerunt cum ad intelligibilem peruénisset etatem, hec ab ore illius accepi, hec ab eo et alii audierunt, Radulfus de Rodewell, Henricus Beuerlac, Radulfus paruus ceterique quam plures.

Verum et cum puerulus esset ad modum paruulus rediens a ludo quem habuit cum | coetaneis suis in locis publicis paternum f. 62 a. ingreditur domicilium. Quem pater intuens : eia, inquit, fili, quales edicis rumores ? Et ille, archiepiscopus Eboracensis² hodie obiit, N.L., I., 411., 545. pater mi. Ridet homo hiis auditis cum uniuersa familia et lepida urbanitate Aldredi uaticinium commendans : vere, fili, ait, ille obiit qui male uiuit. Et puer : aliter iste, pater, nam carne solutus ultimum hodie uale fecit mortalibus. Ad hec stupefacti omnes qui audiere, mirantur pueri animum circa talia occupatum et de absentibus indicare uelut prophetando, cupiuntque transitum antistitis quodam modo iam fuisse, ut annunciantis uerbum consistat in uero. Set quia locus ubi archiepiscopus obiit ab eis longo distabat itinere pendet in dubio exitus prophecie, nec eo die nec altero ulla certitudinis auctoritate roboratur. At in tercio celebris rumor per prouinciam uolitat, fertur

¹ I have suggested above (p. 339 n.) that this archdeacon was probably the William, named Havegrim, who was present at the translation of the book of St. Cuthbert in 1104.

² Thomas II., who died at Beverley, 29 February, 1114. Above, p. 340.

passim et per omnes pontificis transitus, tuncque qui ante ridebant quod puer Aldredus predixerat flere incipiunt et lamentari, non quia illa prophetauit sed quia papa occubuit. Nam de Aldredo dulcissimo illi qui hanc rem eum predixisse cognoscunt adiuicem dicunt: Quid putas puer iste erit? etenim dominus hoc illi reuelauit. Et pater eius repletus gaudio conseruabat hoc quod de eo dicebatur, conferens in corde suo. Qui Aldredo facto monacho ueniens Rieuallē hoc ipsum plurimis fratribus loci eiusdem dulcissimum duxit indicare. Et ipse pater noster Aldredus uenerabilis Radulfo de Rodwell et Radulfo breuis stature et michi de hoc a parentibus audisse professus est.

N.L., I., 41;
II., 547-548, al.
most verbatim.

f. 62 b

Porro in hospicio Rieuall' cum esset pridie antequam reciperetur in cellam noniciorum tale quid per eum dominus operari dignatus est. Ignis ualidus accensus in ede illa porrexit perpurentes flamme globos, primo usque ad trabes, dein etiam usque ad laquearium iuncturas superiores, et ita seuiens vehementer preualebat ut culmen edificiū in momento consumere crederetur. Fit in abbathia lacrimabilis ululatus, velox concursus conuersorum monachorum mercenariorum hospitumque ad illud genus infortunii, qui omnes modis omnibus, quibus tante miserie subuenire credebant, uti pro necessitate non cessarunt. Alii aquis, alii uino, alii liquoribus ceteris edacissima incendia temperare conabantur. Set quanto plus desudabant sedare liquidis calida tanto plus in aridis et humida consumebantur. Unde desperacio tandem cum dolore comitatur, quia inaniter | tantarum conamina indicionum¹ impenduntur. Aldredus autem eadem hora cum ceteris ad mensam sedebat in latere australi eiusdem domicilii. Qui utique in omni perturbacione illa non est motus corpore uel animo set cum singuli dicerent, ue nobis ue nobis, non est ultra spes, ille cum uirili grauitate subridens apprehendit ciphum qui coram eo positus fuerat in mensa plenus anglicis poculis² et cum fiducia miserationis domini lenauit eum et extensa dextera siceram quam continebat uasculum illud projecit in medio flammarum et, mirum dictu, statim conciderunt et uelut mare inundarum ibi extincte sunt.³ O qualis tunc exultacio inter pauperes fratres. O quam solempnis laus ad deum, qualis deuocio in Alredum. Huic rei dominus Gualo interfuit, que tanta eius cordi quoque admiracione adhesit, ut hucusque concepti stuporis impressa uestigia obliuionis

¹ N.L., II., 547: moliminum.

² N.L., "angelicis potibus".

³ End of passage in N.L.

incuria obliterare non possit. Et ut per quatuor quater¹ huius continencia epistole insinuare studeo Alredum nostrum per omnes etatis gradus, quos attingit, uirtutis dedisse indicia, et sicut hoc predicto miraculo ignis ualidissimi sedauit incendium, ita et sequenti addiscas eum eciam aque fluidam substantiam a cursu proprio suspendisse, queso paucis aduerte.

In Galwadium pergens ante duos annos² quam de corpore migraret, peruenit Dundrenan,³ sic enim uocatur abbatia quam ibi fratres Rieuall' construxerunt, et in eodem loco mansit diebus sex seu septem. At quoniam in terra illa patriote casas pastorales et tuguria uilissima potius quam domos uel quadrata edificia inhabitant, et abbatia illa parum ante ceperat edificare officinas regulares, in parua domuncula dominum abbatem cum suis fratribus deuotissime collocarunt. In cuius domatis angulo lectisternia patris ministri strauerunt et quam sedulo potuerunt, in quo quiete pausaret, lectum parauerunt. Set quia statim etiam ut tenuosissimam pluuiam de nube descendere contigisset furtiua detursione totum solebat madidare pauimentum, timuerunt fratres huius inquietacionis iniuriam uirum uenerabilem indebita molestia perurgere debuisse. Iam ne duorum quidem pedum spacium per tectum domus eiusdem ab imbrium infusione quin instillaret minime seruabatur. Set postquam Alredus ibidem dormiuit pluuiarum decursus a solitis latrociniis cohibiti defecerunt, et quamuis ingens et fere continuus fieret per illos sex dies descensus imbrium et super aliorum omnium cubilia, qui cum eo in specu illo quiescebant, largiter influerent per dissipati culminis hiatus latissimos, nunquam tamen tanto tempore super lectum patris uel una quidem guttula agnoscitur | cecidisse. Quod postquam aduertunt, ecclesie uide-*f. 62 c.* licet illius prepositus, et ceteri fratres supra quam credi potest admirantes non ob aliud quam ob uiri sanctitatem Deo gratissimam fieri arbitrantur, ut aqua sue nature obliuisceretur, que, cum sit fluida et humiditate labilis et ponderose liquiditatis, cursum debitum non teneret sed uacuum foraminum subter se patencium contorta deriuacione declinaret.⁴ Nam ut pro certo tota huius nouitatis mirabilis

¹ The writer is describing miracles from infancy, childhood, youth, and old age.

² For the date, see above, p. 480; and, for other visits, below p. 512.

³ See above, p. 462.

⁴ This type of miracle is very common. For a more startling story, see Jocelin's "Life of St. Kentigern," c. 35, ed. Forbes, *The Historians of Scotland*, V., 221 (Edinburgh, 1874).

mutacio merita commendaret Aldredi et extunc nil dubii resideret in cordibus fratrum, quin ad eius gloriam facta fuisset loci predicti desiccatio singularis, statim postquam stramenta patris exinde sublata sunt et celum dedit pluuias, ibi ubi dormierat, sicut alibi per omne pauimentum ipsius edis, more solito dissipate stipule disiunctiua reflexio aquarum infestas copias infundere non cessauit. Istud delectabile miraculum ueritatis testimonio sufficienter corroborat dompnus Walterus monachus noster et sacristes, quondam autem capellanus Walteri Espec, qui etiam tempore illo, quo hec in Galwagia facta sunt, in domo de Dundrenan prioratus officio functus; rem quam uidit fideliter solet enarrare. Habemus et alium hoc ipsum contestantem Ogerum, uidelicet Rieuallie filium et testem fidelissimum. Dabo et tercium Henricum, scilicet Beuerlacensem, uirum eque amabilem et ueracem.

Ecce habes epistolam, onustam quidem littera, sed non uenustam eloquencia, non auream uel deauratam, sed ferream et deargentatam, eciam miraculis gemmatam et testium astipulacione confirmatam. Que licet iam hic congrue finiretur, ante tamen duobis amicis meis breuiter respondere temperabo equidem simplicissimus, qui me reprehendendum putarunt, quod Alredum nostrum quasi monachum uixisse in curia Regis Scocie ab primo inuentutis flore asseuerare uoluerim. O ignaros homines rethorice discipline que splendore colorum suorum sub multimodis figuris faciem artis delectabiliter specificando illuminat. Nam quid cause pretendunt? Idcirco uidelicet quod Alredus eodem tempore uirginitatem suam aliquociens deflorauerit talem hominem a me non debuisse monacho comparari. Ego autem illo in loco non de castitatem Alredi sum locutus sed de humilitate. Hanc itaque commendaui nomine monachi, non lasciuiam introduxi. Triticum ostendi, non lolium predicaui. De uiciis tacui, uirtutes insinuaui. Et quando, queso, frumentum nichil habebit acuris? ¹

f. 62 d. Sic nemo mundus a sorde, nec infans cuius est | diei unius uite super terram. Est autem figura rethorica que intellectio appellatur per quam res tota parua ex parte cognoscitur aut de toto pars. Hac uero ibi usus sum ut nomine monachi Alredo designarem, de toto astruens partem, uocans eum monachum, non quia castus tunc ad modum fuerit, set quia ualde humilis. Humilitas et castitas proprie monachum faciunt. Et quoniam sine humilitate bonus nunquam est

¹ So the MS. for *acris*, genitive of *acus* (Columella, Pliny, etc.).

monachus et res tota parua ex parte cognoscitur, nec per hoc dicendi regula infringitur sed landibiliter seruatur, bene pro humili monachum dixi, male ergo uituperauerunt me amici mei isti. Et hoc inquit quod in libello tuo corpus Alredi defuncti luxisse ut carbunculum et ut thus redoluisse professus es? non satis caute posuisti, immo regulariter, at rusticis et idiotis aliter non immerito oportuit uideri. Talpa nempe licet oculos non habet solis tamen radios reformidat. Et amici mei ceci offendere in lumine non erubescunt. Etenim superlacio est oracio superans ueritatem alicuius augendi minuendique causa. Hoc colore mater sapiencia in pictura eloquencie cum ceteris artificiose operatur. Hinc est illud Henrici dicentis cuius ore sermo melle dulcior profluebat. Et in libris nostris, aquilis uelociores leonibus forciores. Illudque in uita beati Martini, uitro purior lacte candidior. O hebetes! note iste non sunt notabiles, immo plane commendabiles, res magnas commendantes et stultos reprehensores irritantes. Quid enim? Alredi corpus num mihi non luxit cum lauaretur defunctum? Vere lux nobis omnibus qui affuimus. At quomodo? Plus multo quam si carbunculus affuisset. Quod eciam super odorem thuris redolebat, sic nobis uisum est, sic sensimus omnes. Nec mirum. Nunquam enim antea in uita sua carnem sic candidam gessit pulcher ille et decorus quomodo¹ quando iacebat defunctus. Dico sine scrupulo mendacii nuncquam ego tam candidam carnem uidi alterius cuiuslibet uiui uel defuncti. Ignoscite ergo michi quod rem incomparabilem licita superlacione merito magnificauī. Alioquin auctores eloquencie stoliditatem uestram publica redargucione dampnabunt. Ego interim parco uobis. Et hoc propter te, domine mi pater Maurici, ne prolixitas epistole intencionem exasperet animi tui sitque finis protractus onerosus auribus occupatis. Igitur ecce iterum ad te uenio. Libenter audi, nam breuiter dicam miracula patris Alredi. Magna sunt, bene nosti. Si magna non essent nemo minderet. Et enim splendida et gloriosa, non fusca et despica | bilia; emulacio f. 63 a. sequitur inuidencie. Sit ita? ita est; magna sunt miracula patris nostri. Set miracula et magna habere possunt homines mali. Set perfectam caritatem quam habuit Alredus boni possident soli. Si habuerim omnem fidem, ait apostolus, ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero, nichil michi prodest.² Quis non dicat

¹ The same use of *quomodo* at the foot of f. 63 a.

² 1Cor. xiii. 2.

magnum esse miraculum transferre montes? Et tamen sine caritate pro nichilo reputatur quicquid homo fecerit, licet possit uno digito suspendere molem uniuerse terre. Ergo caritas res mirabilis est, res dulcis, res amabilis, res utique que nunquam caret fructu remunerationis eterne suauitatis. Hanc habuit Alredus et talem certe qualem describit apostolus, id est, benignam, patientem, non inflatam, non agentem perperam, non querentem que sua sunt sed que Christi Jhesu.¹ Habitum ego miser monachi porto, ego tonsus, ego cucullatus, ego talis loquor, ego dico contestor confirmo iuro in eo autem uiro, qui est ueritas, Christo Domino nostro, ego caritatem Alredi plus miror quam mirerer si *iiij*^{or} fuisset suscitator mortuorum. Rideant auditores mei, derideant sermonem meum, proiciant epistolam in ignem, quod uoluerint agant, ego in hoc perseuero et perseuerare me spero, quia caritas Alredi omnem superauit miraculi nouitatem, quam habuit ex corde puro et consciencia bona et fide non ficta secundum apostolicam diffinitionem.² Et ut breui quasi argumento probem me sentire bene, audi, mi pater, narratiunculam filii tui perspicuam quamdam proferentem caritatis imaginem.

Quodam tempore pacificus Alredus, laborans passione colica et torcione calculi, super nattam uetustissimam stratam secus focum limiauit miserabiliter doloriferos artus, et quasi membrane folium iuxta ignem appositum totum corpus in tantum contorsit, et inter genua capud prorsus habere uideretur. Etenim incomoditas saeuissima urgebat eum et dum lenire putabat dolorem per calorem prope modum linguam flamme liniatum lambere corpusculum crederes. Ita ergo dum conquiniscit nunc hac, nunc illac, ego filius cum patre solus affui sedens mestus ad modum, quia tristis anima mea conturbauerat me, nec tamen sic dolebam mentis proprie acutissimum stimulum quomodo patris incomodum. Nobis igitur solis duobus in domo consistentibus ecce quidam epicurus monachus iratus utique criminaliter | aspectu taurino, motu turpissimo, ingrediens ad nos uenit usque ad locum in quo iacebat Alredus. Fremens itaque crudeliter et dentibus frendens apprehendit utrisque manibus latus unum natte cum patre qui desuper iacebat, et excuciens utrumque totis uiribus, uirum certe centum monachorum patrem fratrumque laicorum quingentorum, tam in ignem, quam in cineres, proiecit, clamans et dicens, O miser, ecce,

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5.

² 1 Tim. i. 5.

modo te occido, modo te morte dura perdo. Quia hic iaces fictissime, uanissime, stultissime, amodo non erit quod menciariis, quia nunc utique morieris. Ego hec respiciens contabui et patris periculum non pociens, concepi ardorem indignacionis contra tyrannum et consurgens cepi hominem per barbam durissime, uolens uicem reddere in momento temporis. Ille autem gigas corporali mole in me post patris iniuriam insurgebat et ego, quia uiuacis animi eram et magni cordis, resistebam uiriliter et conatus iniquitatis retardabam. Inter hec monachi ueniunt et inueniunt lupum super ouem stantem, immo pastorem inuadentem et quasi dentibus discindentem et ore deuorantem crudeliter. Ut autem uiderunt, contabuerunt et zelo accensi uoluerunt inicere manus in filium pestilencie, set pater oblitus infirmitatis et caritatis memor precepit et ait: Nolite, nolite, queso, nolite, filii, patrem uestrum tunica paciencie spoliare. Non sum commotus, non sum lesus, turbatus non sum, quia filius meus est qui me proiecit in ignem et per hoc purgauit, non peremit. Filius meus est set infirmus est. Et ego quidem corpore non sum sanus, sed sanauit me in anima infirmus ille, quia beati pacifici quoniam filii dei uocabuntur. Itaque apprehendens caput eius uir beatissimus deosculatur, benedicit, amplectitur, et quasi doloris nil sensisset ex infirmitate corporea nulla-que mestitudine tangeretur ex illata iniuria, ita dulciter linire studuit furorem irascentis in se sine causa. O caritas hominis multis maior miraculis! Non iussit eum a monasterio expelli, non uerberari, non iussit quasi freneticum ligari uel compede constringi, non eum denique uel uerbo increpatorio patitur a quoquam conueniri. Quia ruguit in persona mea peccauit, ego, cum uoluero, uindicabo, sed ego nunquam | quia caritas in patre uestro non est destruenda, set per talia f. 63 c. pocius perficienda iugiter usque in finem, et sic salui erimus. Quando non, ubi non, cui non placet ista tam perfecta caritas que, a minore tam grauiter exulcertata, talionem non reddit, immo quod est perfectissime dilectionis insigne, pro temeritate beneficium impendit. Ista, mi pater Maurici, lege, queso, duobus prelati illis ut sciant Alredum merito miracula perpetrasse, qui tales protulit fructus in caritate, iureque fecisse uirtutes qui tam extitit benignus ad sibi subiectos fratres. Et reuera cencies et iterum tociens exemplis huiusmodi formam uite sue decentissime subornauit cocci bis tincti¹ mirabiliter ille artifex. Hanc uero

¹ MS. *cocti bis tincti*. The phrase is scriptural, e.g. Exodus xxv. 4.

epistolam ad capud libelli nostri deorsim quidem apposui ut ad eam uelut ad capitula quedam recurratur maxime cum opus fuerit rerum gestarum testes nominatim producere. Ora pro me pater mi.

[In the MS. the life follows the letter to Maurice without a break. As the chief facts are given in the summaries printed in Horstmann's edition of the *Nova Legenda*, I have not given the text in full. All passages throwing light on Ailred's personality or adding definite information about him are given, also Walter Daniel's comments on the monastic life, the true methods of theological study, and similar matters. I have omitted nearly all the detailed descriptions of Ailred's miracles, as they do not, as a rule, contain anything of particular interest which cannot easily find parallels elsewhere. I have added the numbers and headings to the chapters, which are clearly marked by illuminated capitals in the MS.]

f. 63 c. [I. *Prefatory letter to Abbot H.*]

Virorum dulcissimo abbati H. suus W. Daniel, laborem et salutem. Quum quidem pater noster obiit et quasi lux matutina euanuit e terra nostra et multorum animo insidet ut radius tanti luminis refundatur ad memoriam et illuminacionem futurorum, immo eciam et quorundam presencium quibus et ipsum lumen emicuit in fulgore suo, non possum, fateor tibi, in hac re sensus mei rationem et scienciam denegare, cuius debeo pro uiribus parere preceptis et maxime in caritatiua iussione que non sine uexatione anime poterit preteriri. Bene dicitur: Pre uictima est obediencia et ante pinguum arietum oblationem.¹ Ad hanc nihilominus tuam intentacionem accedit et imminet recens patris abscessio² que nos ultro prodire prouocat, obedire iubet, et tuis ammonet parere mandatis. At quid faciam miser inter has ambages discriminis, que sic latera mea stringunt et constringunt affectum et uoluntatem retundunt? Nam ille quidem plus cupit quam potest, hec uera tantum tenere suadet. Sed quid? Oret pro me paternitas tua et tuorum deuocio filiorum suis meo astipuletur conatui precibus et ueris uincam opinionem multorum. . . .

f. 63 d-64 b. [II. *Ailred's youth at King David's court.*]

Igitur pater noster in puericia mirabilis fuit et fere uirum fecit preclarum cum minusculam etatem ageret, nisi quod ibi habuit maiorem uirtutem ubi uicium esse non potuit. . . . Licet enim seruicium domini

¹ 1 Kings xv., 22.

² Ailred died in January, 1167.

sui, regis utique magni, secundi David, Regis Scocie, talem puerum, tam egregium florem uitis uere, teneret in seculo, in celo tamen mente ac uoluntate conuersabatur, et iam plane infantulus fecisset ne ulla ex parte seruiret mundo, nisi tam pure sanctitatis domino pro tempore in quibusdam deservire uoluisset. . . . | Denique uitam prefati Regis^{f. 64 a.} luculentissimo stilo composuit sicut postmodum declarabimus.¹ A quo tanto amore complexus est ut eum faceret magnum in domo sua et in palacio gloriosum, ita ut rebus preesset multis, mancipiis plurimis et omnibus palatinis quasi dominus alter et secundus princeps haberetur, egrediens et ingrediens ad imperium regis, in uniuersis fidelis, bonis tamen familiaris et cum amore gratus, malis uero terribilis et cum dilectione seuerus. Jam enim tunc adimplebat: "diligite inimicos uestros," et non dissimulabat illud: "omnia omnibus factus sum ut omnes facerem saluos". Unde Rex uehementer amabat eum, et magis^{N.L., I., 4} ac magis de die in diem ad altiora prouehere cogitabat in tantum ut^{II., 24-26; 545.²} eum episcopatu nobilitasset primario terre sue, nisi ad cisterciensem religionem cicius aduolasset. Erat tamen cum eo echonomus³ domus regalis et preter illum nichil agebatur intus uel foris, omnibus per omnia placens et in nullo unquam delinquens. . . . In tantum enim seruebat spiritum, in regali triclinio positus, ut magis monachus⁴ putaretur quam secularis potencie et pompatici ministerii officialis discipulus. . . . Hinc est quod sepe dum staret coram Rege ad prandium fercula distribuens et particiones diuidens ciborum uiritim unicuique conuescencium |^{f. 64 b.} prout uolebat, ut primor⁵ in hac parte, uidelicet mense regalis dapifer summus, inter prandendum obliuiscens exteriora et que futura sunt cogitans, quasi per agoniam raptus ad superos, uentrium negocia obliuisceretur. . . . In uestimentis quoque et ornatibus corporis taliter incedebat comptus et coopertus ut nulla superfluitas notaretur in superficie uel uane glorie seu cupiditatis affectus, prognosia quadam ueraci future uite sue prophetans laudabilem paupertatem. . . . (*The rest of the chapter on Ailred's virtues is summarized in N.L., II., 545*).

¹ Below, f. 70 b.

² The summary in the Bury MS. contains a sentence not found in Walter's text: "in curia David regis Scocie, cum Henrico filius regis et Waltheno postmodum abbate de Melros, nutritus fuit et educatus". (N.L., II., 545, ll. 20-21). See above, pp. 336, 343.

³ See above, p. 343.

⁴ Above, p. 471.

⁵ So MS. for primus or primoris.

N.L., I., 41,
ll. 30-42, l. i.;
II., 545-546.

[III. *The story of the scurrilous knight who attacked Ailred.*]

f. 64 c.

Erat enim quidam durus et rigidus ualde stolidique cordis et penitus indomabilis qui militaris quidem discipline nomine tenus exercebat insignia et satis uiribus et crudelitate proficiebat in malum. Hic insaniens contra iuuenem eo quod a rege pre omnibus amaretur, omnibusque placeret in palacio, utpote inuidens et frendens dentibus ille infelix super hiis que uidebat, gratie donis quibus decorabatur noster Joseph adeo ut tanquam pater a militaribus ceteris coleretur, ueneraretur et solempniter publice et priuatim precipuus predicaretur, cepit persequi uirum uirtutis uir ille et graui odio insectari. . . . | Tandem inflacione sua commotus et agitatus rancore miles malus magno impetu insurgit in bonum hominem et benignum, rege presente et aulice frequentie solempni comitatu; sicque oracionis principio galeam impudencie innectit ut spurcissimis¹ uerbis et horrorem concucientibus illis qui audiebant, meretricis non militis litem et luxuriam redolerent, dicens et contestans indignum esse hominem regales dispensare diuicias, regio uultui assistere, tante glorie nomen et laudem optinere. Addit ad hec quedam que silencio premitto propter fetorem uerborum ne fedent os nostrum et aures audiencium, euomens contra electum Domini et future felicitatis heredem. (*Ailred treated this attack with such humility and generosity that the knight was abashed and finally sought forgiveness. King David's regard for Ailred was increased and he was admitted into his confidence in important matters. . . .*) | Congruit eciam eius nomini interpretatio magni consilarii, quod, uersum in latinum totum consilium uel omne consilium facit. Etenim "Alred" anglicum est, illudque quod diximus exprimit in latino. . . .

f. 64 d.

f. 65 a.

[IV. *Ailred's desire for the cloister.*]

f. 65 b.

[V. *Ailred's journey to York where he hears of Rievaulx.*]

N.L., II.,
546-547.

Paulo post namque in partes Eborace ciuitatis pro quodam negocio deueniens ad Archiepiscopum eiusdam diocesis,² didicit a quodam familiarissimo³ sibi rumore laudabili quosdam monachos ferme ante duos annos ex transmarinis partibus uenisse in Angliam, mirabiles

¹ So I read the MS. Some words seem to have been omitted by the copyist.

² Archbishop Thurstan.

³ Perhaps Waldef, who about this time had been elected prior of Kirkham.

quidem et religione insignes, uestituque albos et nomine. (*The rest of the chapter, describing the Cistercian rule and Walter Espec's foundation near Helmsley is summarized in the Bury MS. N.L., II., 546-547, but the following passage is much abbreviated.*) Omnia illis constant pondere, mensura et numero. Panem libra, potum | emina, olus et faba conficiunt pulmenta duo. Si cenauerint ^{f. 65 c.} partes prelibatorum iterum in publicum veniunt, excepto quod pro coctionibus binis quedam si affuerunt succedunt nascencia leguminum. Singuli et cincti lectis repasant suis, cuculla et tunica estate uel hieme nunquam minus habentes. Nichil possident proprium preter quod non loquuntur simul, nec propria quid quis aggreditur uoluntate. Ad nutum prelati excitata que geruntur simili exitu flectuntur ad quelibet.¹ Pusillus et magnus, puer et senex, prudens et ydiota una lege tenentur ad mensam, ad processionem, ad communionem usumque ordinum ceterorum. Personalitas idemptitatem parit, singulis unam ipsamque omnibus similem, nec est gratia² quemlibet excepcionis indicium preponderans equitati,³ nisi quem maior sanctitas aliis potuerit anteferre. Sola hec distincio digniorem approbat que nouerit dinoscere meliorem. Quanto ergo quis humilior tanto et maior est inter illos. Et quanto⁴ abjectior fuerit secundum estimationem propriam, tanto aliorum opinioni et arbitrio plus placebit.⁵ Januas monasterii sui

¹ The punctuation in N.L. differs from that of the MS.

² N.L. *erga*. The Bury text appears to be better here.

³ N.L. *equitatem*.

⁴ MS. *quanta*.

⁵ Most of this passage is taken, sometimes verbatim, from the rule of St. Benedict or from the Cistercian constitutions. It may be compared with Ailred's description in the *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCV., coll. 559-560). In one of his sentences Walter Daniel wrote a eulogy of the Cistercian rule in more general terms: "ordo cisterciensis est ut lampa inter astra, ut thiara Aaron inter pontificalia, ut ephod Dauid inter regalia, ut urna aurea inter tabernaculi testimonii uasa cetera. Dixit autem Dauid sponso de sponsa: astitit regina a dextris suis in uestitu deaurato circumdata uarietate. Ita pulchre sponse uarietas quasi uisibilibus distincta coloribus; nitore coloris albi albos cisterciensis ordinis monachos signare uidetur. Sicut enim uidetur. Sicut enim color albus pre ceteris coloribus naturali quadam uenustate oculos mulcet intuentium, ita ordo cisterciensis pre ceteris professionum sectis, pictura quadam egregia et spirituali, omnes in se recapitulat uirtutes in quo si quid minus habetur, hoc earum chatalogo certum est omnino deesse. Sciunt plane illi uera esse que dico, qui eundem ordinem strenue custodiunt quomodo a prioribus patribus in primordii sui est incoatus exordio. Ego etiam hec optime noui, quod professionis huius observatores perfecti pro uirtutum pulcher-

mulieres non ingrediunt, non accipitres, non canes nisi tales qui frequenti latratu fures ab edibus abigere consuerunt. Pestem indignacionis et omnem plantacionem iracundie superbieque fumosas figuras e medio sui exsufflant nimia dileccione, quibus secundum actus apostolorum cor unum creatum est et anima una spiritus sancti gratia et amore. . . .

65 d.

[VI. *Ailred leaves York for Helmsley.*]

.L., II., 547.

Hucusque uir uenerabilis ab amico fabulam non fictam sed factam audiens, et "eia," inquit, "que est uia que ducit ad istos angelicos homines, ad hec loca celestia?" "Noli," ait ille, "turbari, nam iuxta te sunt et nescis, facillimeque reperiri possunt si quesieris" O, inquit, "desidero plane multum et uehementer sitio aspectum illorum et loci prefatas opportunitates conspiciari". "Aggredere," refert ille, "iter, sed prius ab archiepiscopo licenciam pete et accipe benedictionem eius, et post ante diei presentis occasum si uoueris, implebit deus desiderium tuum". Currit cicius ad presulem, cupiditate ductus futurorum, et recepta licencia et benediccione antistitis ad hospicium concitus recurrit, equos ascendit nec moram innectit ingressui domus, immo pene insalutatos apud quos hospitabatur relinquens, iumenta urget ire quo nescit. Sed relator prefate fabule illum post se cogit sequi et sic agitantibus caballis et ualde uelociter ante noctem castellum introeunt Helmsley, quod a loco distabat miliariis duobus. In quo dum eos ouanter recepit uir nobilis et fundator illius cenobii Walterus Espec, noctem illam cum eodem letam duxerunt. Qui et ipse presencia quedam preteritis addens de religione monachorum illorum humillimi, Alredi spiritum magis ac magis gaudio accendebat inenarrabili.

[VII. *Ailred enters Rievaulx. This chapter, like the last, is summarized at some length in the Bury MS. The chief omission in the latter is the fact that Ailred did not decide to become a monk on his first visit to Rievaulx, but on the following day, after he had begun his journey back to Scotland.*]

.L., II., 547.

Mane igitur facto peregit pater cum eo ad monachos et uernaculi nonnulli cum illis ueniunt. Occurrit prior, hospitalis et portarius, ducunt ad orationem iuuenem lacrimis faciem abluentem et cor conterentem

rimos flores [*sic*] tricesimum et sexagesimum centesimumque faciunt fructum. Sit pax et veritas cum his omnibus usque in finem. Amen." (Centum Sententiae, no. 97, f. 37^v-38^r.)

humiliter in confessione domini. . . . Tamen non illo die imperavit animo locum ipsum eligere ad ibi manendum, sed remeans cum domino W. Espec ad castrum ante nominatum alteram in eo peregit noctem priori consimilem. Loquuntur simul | qui aderant sufficienter de f. 66 a. pluribus et post dormitum est usque ad illud exortum stelle que primo mane micando resplendet et lucifer appellatur. Clamat iam expergefactus a sompno ille tociens nominatus quatinus ministri equis frena suspendant. Sellas eciam superponant et alia equitancium instrumenta componant. Quibus patratu uale faciens nobilissimo Waltero iter arripuit in Scociam ad dominum suum regem. Quum autem oportebat eum transire per montis supercilium qui descendebat in uallem monasterii de quo diximus, et ducebat ad portam illius, cum uenisset illuc inflammatus calore spiritus sancti, amore uidelicet domini Jhesu, interrogauit quendam suorum, uocabulo amicum, utrum uellet descendere ad abbathiam et plenius quod pridie conspexerat contemplari. (*The event was decided by the desire of the companion to go down to the abbey, and Ailred became a monk, with one of his company.*)

[VIII. *Ailred in the probatorium.*]

f. 66 b.

Completo igitur in hospicio quaternario dierum numero recipitur in N.L., II., 5 probatorium; ante tamen coram toto conuentu conuentus de proposito quod spondit et ibi quoque ut alibi responsis gratie que procedebant de ore illius omnes commouit in fletum. In probatorio uero non facile dixerim qualiter extitit. Ibi enim terra in aurum uersa est. Adhuc in carne superest qui eum erudiuit in scola illa et est religionis famose uir ille, Simon uidelicet abbas de Sartis.² Qui licet senio lassatus iam iamque propinquet ad brauium, tamen interim dicat qualem uiderit patrem nostrum amantissimum Alredum in probatorio noniciorum. Dic, senex, dic, dic de illo, dum uiuis, ueritatem. Noli timere illud ne laudes hominem in uita sua, quia iste iam obdormiuit in domino et porrexit ad celum. Vere, inquit, socius meus fuit non discipulus et industria magisterii uicit doctorem. Ergo, o tu bone senex, super te predicas bene uixisse quem te in bono astruis meliorem. (*The rest*

¹ After the summary of the previous chapter, the story of the fire in the guest house follows in the Bury MS. This was taken from the later letter to Maurice. See above, p. 486. In his summary of Chapter VIII., the compiler omits the references to Simon, Abbot of Sartis.

² Above, p. 453.

of the chapter, which is briefly summarized in N.L., II., 548, deals with Ailred's virtues as a novice.)

66 c. [IX. *Ailred makes his profession.*]

N.L., II., 548. Igitur cum orbita tocius anni uolueretur et ad sui principium tempus rediret et ipse totum expendisset in cella ubi Christi probantur tirones, ante altare, ut mos est, in oratorio coram omnibus uotum suum firmauit professione litterali, quam et manu sua scripsit, ut beatus ammonet Benedictus.¹ Deinde uestitur stola sancta, cuculla uidelicet abbatica benedictione sanctificata, et deinceps in congregacione reputatur. Et quoniam aliquantulum rufus erat ut Daud, pulcher et decorus aspectu plurimum delectacionis intuencium oculis ingerebat. Qui tribus quoque inicia milicie monachatus decorabat insigniis, uidelicet sancta meditacione, pura oracione, honesta exercitacione. Extra horum unum reperiuntur est nunquam. In hiis delectabatur sicut in omnibus diuiciis. Aut enim meditabatur in lege diuina aut deum suum deprecabatur aut utili actioni operam dabat. Primo autem circa que meditacio illius fuerat intenta propalemus.

f. 66 c-67 b. [X., XI., XII. *Meditation, prayer, work. The nature of Walter Daniel's reflections is sufficiently indicated in N.L., II., 548-549.*]

67 b. [XIII. *General eulogy on Ailred as a monk, written in the manner of the Centum Sententiæ.*]

In hiis igitur et in huiusmodi uirtutibus uicitans miles inuictus, qui quasi apis argumentosa per campos uolitabat uirtutum, apothecam cordis tribus impleuit speciebus, melle uidelicet oleo et butiro. Et mel dixerim contemplacionem quia celestia oblectamenta hauriebat, oleum pietatem quia lucebat, biturum compassionem proximi quia pro eorum peccatis preces ad deum fundebat. In contemplacione mel sensit et gustauit per quam gustatur et uidetur quam suauis est dominus, sicut dicitur: "Gustate et uidete quam suauis est dominus".² Per pietatem expertus est lucem miseracionis domini, quia sicut oleum in superficie lucet, ita et pietas in miseracione resplendet. Comedit eciam butirum³ proximo compaciendo, quoniam sicut butirum ad ignem liquescit ita compassio in proximi subuencione resoluta infirmam animam refrigerat.

¹ Walter Daniel follows the *constitutiones*. See Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, p. 220.

² Ps. xxxiii. 9.

³ MS. *buturum*.

Quod propheta considerans dicit deo : "Remitte mihi ut refrigerer prius quam abeam et amplius non ero."¹

[XIV. *Ailred and Abbot William. The journey to Rome. Novice master.*]

Cum ergo sic floreret uir religiosus Alredus, considerans laborem eius et sollicitudinem in bono abbas suus dominus uidelicet Willelmus cogitabat admittere illum ad consilii sui secretas interrogaciones et necessarias causas examinandas domus Ryual'. Quod cum fecisset decuplum inuenit in eo sapienciam ac prudencie super quam estimauerat. Nam res difficiles graues et permaximas multo facilius quam opinabatur expressit in lucem et prouexit ad gloriam. Neque desperare potuit de bono rei exitu uenerabilis Willelmus si eius ingressus Alredum non latuisset. Nam cognitis causarum principiis ad instar alterius Danielis solucionem earum | et finem prudenter inter-f. 67 c. pretabatur. Hinc est quod eum prefatus abbas Romam dirigens pro dissensionis Eboracensis causa² maxima mitiganda tanta gracia receptus est a domino papa, tam strenue negocium expressit et consummauit ut rediens multis admiracioni fieret et honori. Cui quoque reuerso iniungitur a domino Willelmo cura nouiciorum, quatinus uasa eos faciet digna deo et accepta ordine et quasi quedam perfectionis exemplaria eorum qui bene bonorum gestiunt formam emulari. Quod et fecit et tam dolatos ex illis monachos tradidit ut eorum quid adhuc in carne superstites illius predicabilem industriam tam morum suauitate quam uiua uoce affirmant, quorum conuersacio³ inter candidos flores candidiores ut ita dixerim flosculos preferunt, et maiorem pretendunt uenustatem decoris incomparabilis. Et ut uno compassio cordis eius et perfectio religionis intelligatur audiant, qui audire uolunt, quid proferre quodam fecerit uel potius quid deus per illum fecerit pro fratre illo.

[XV. *The story of the clericus scholaris.*]

Venit aliquis illo tempore scholaris clericus ad Rieuallē monachi^{N.L., I., 4} nomen et officium desiderans adipisci. Recipitur primo in hospicio,^{Il. 4-19; I. 549, II. 9-2}

¹ Ps. xxxviii. 14.

² See above, p. 347.

³ Two or three words seem to have been omitted here.

⁴ The summaries of this story in the Sanctilogium Anglie (N.L., I., 42) and the Bury MS. (Il., 549) are equal in length and very similar, but are clearly independent. E.g. the former takes the word *clericus* from Walter Daniel, the latter omits it.

paulo post in cella nouiciorum ubi Alredus precipiebat ut magister. Qui clericus ualde instabilis animo persepe ad diuersa titubabat, nunc huc nunc illuc, ut arundo pro aura mutabilis uoluntatis ferebatur . . . (*explicit*) Iam in sancto habitu frater ille per puram oracionem Alredi inter eiusdem patris manus uite finem terminauit.¹

67 d.

[XVI. *The spring in the probatorium.*]

N.L., I., 42,
19-23.

Nec pretereundum quomodo in probatorio cassellum testeam ad modum paruule cisterne sub terra fabricauerat, cui per occultos riuulos aqua influebat. Os autem eius lapide latissimo claudebatur ne a quoquam cerneretur. In quam Alredus machinam intrans, si quando secretum silencium reperisset, et aqua frigidissima totum corpus humectans calorem in sese omnem extinxit uiciorum.

[XVII. *Ailred's writings during this period.*]

N.L., II., 549,
26-30.

Per idem tempus cepit scribere ad diuersas personas epistolas quidem sensu serenissimas et litera luculentas. Scripsit etiam tres libros secundum iudicium meum pre omnibus quos scripsit laudabiles, quos uocauit speculum caritatis,² eo quod opus illud sic in se contineat imaginem Dei amoris et proximi, sicut in speculo imaginem considerantis constat peruideri. Et hic plane uolumus, deo nos adiuuante, ingenii eius limatam paulisper detegere subtilitatem.

[XVIII. *Ailred's intellectual qualities.*]³

Nempe acceperat animam ingeniosam, acceperat et habebat. Quid modo habebat, qui parum sciens in seculo, tanta postmodum sciuit eaque que sciuit tam sapide sciuit? Artes quos liberales uocant auctores iste magis palpando sensit quam bibendo gustauit, quantum attinet ad erudicionem illam que ore magistri discipuli pectus ingreditur. Alias autem omne tulit magisterium secum, intelligens bene super eos qui scolaria didicerunt rudimenta iniectione uerbi potius quam infusione spiritus sancti. Et isti aristotelicas figuras et pitagorici computationis infinitos calculos doctore indicante vix capiunt, iste autem omnem numerum transuolans uelocitate ingenii sui et omnem compositionem | figure fecte uel facte supergrediens, ipsum intellexit in scripturis et docuit, qui solus habet immortalitatem ubi non est numerus

68 a.

¹ See above, p. 312; and below, pp. 502, 504-506.

² Above, pp. 454-455.

³ Above, p. 473. This important chapter was not summarized by Tyne-mouth nor by the author of the summary in the Bury MS.

et lucem habitat inaccessibilem ubi non apparet figura sed ipsa ueritas que finis recte intelligitur uniuerse doctrine naturalis. Qui non fucos quesuiuit assumere uerborum in assercione sua, que dignitatem sensus magis onerant quam honorant, nam amputant a uero indicium ueritatis dum post se trahunt quod aliena declinatione non indiget et in hoc ducunt quod ueritas dedignatur. Se sola enim ueritas contenta est nec uerbis indiget ad deprecandum compositis uel intelligendum. Sicut sol nullius rei opus habet ut luceat quo magis luceat quam lucet, si autem ei aliquid aliud coniunxeris iam minus lucet, ita ueritas se sola sufficit intelligenti ut uideatur, cui si aliquid aliud inpresseris uel admiscueris, eo minus comprobatur sufficiens, quo dignitatem propriam aliena munire presumit insipientia. Neque enim uerba sine ratione, que membrum quoddam est ueritatis ad boni aliquid suadendum uel deprecandum uel tenendum, ulla sufficiencia fulciuntur. Nam innumera uerba esse possunt sine sensu et nichil distabunt a latratu canis. Quod iccirco dico quia pater noster refutabat omnino regulas gramaticas ueritati anteferre, quas illi ubique postposuit, utpote cultum contempnens eloquiū superuacuum reique de qua diceret,¹ approbans puram et meram ueritatem. Nec tamen ad modum rusticus in pronunciando sermonem innotuit, cui et diserto suppeciit splendidissima et non parue glorie uenustam eloquiam habundauit. Habuit autem ad manum facile dicere quod uellet et ita proferre ut deceret. Sed de hiis satis. Siquidem scripta illius ostendunt sufficienter qualiter sit locutus que manu mea et labore memorie posterorum reseruate sunt. Jam ergo ad sequencia procedamus.

[XIX. *Foundation of Revesby.*]

Domus igitur Rieuall' concipiens in utero terciam filiam² genitiui tumeris distensione partum propinquum nuntiauit.³ Que uero cum peperisset, obstetrices Alredum nostrum ad prolem recentem fusam gerulum et nutricium elegerunt, affirmantes cito grandiusculam futuram, si eius sollicitudinis lacte nutriretur. Et factum est ita. Quid? Elegerunt illum in abbatem fratres qui de Rieualle ad locum quemdam mittendi fuerant in prouinciam Lindisse, qui locus a Lincolnia ciuitate f. 68 b. regia uiginti distat milibus.

¹ *diceret in margin.*

² The two earlier daughter foundations were Wardon and Melrose.

³ MS. *minictauit.*

f. 68 b.

[XX. *Ailred as Abbot of Revesby.*]N.L., II., 549,
l. 33 to 550,
l. 3.

Veniens igitur cum illis illuc in paruo tempore numerum fratrum multiplicauit uehementer gratia Jhesu Christi. Abbacie autem nomen bipartitum est, nam de sancto Laurencio dicitur eo quod in uilla qua eadem constructa est abbacia ecclesia olim sancti colebatur Laurencii, que usque modo manet; et ex uilla alterum sortitum est uocabulum que Reuesby dicitur, unde uero et abbacia sic appellatur. In hac pater sanctus miraculis florere cepit. (*The rest of the chapter describing the growth of the abbey and Ailred's busy life, for he found favour both with King and bishop, is given almost verbatim in the Bury MS.*)

f. 68 c.

[XXI. *Ailred cures the subprior of Revesby of a fever.*]

Supprior itaque eiusdem domus uir religiosus et timens Deum acutissimis febribus tenebatur longo iam tempore. . . . Et ecce pater sanctus cellam infirmorum ingrediens lectulosque inuisens singulorum, tandem in illum inpingit, et eum intuens iacturam domus et inuisam uiro ualetudinem dedignatur, sicque tandem affatur iacentem: "Cras in nomine domini ad ecclesiam perge, in spallencium chorum irrumpe, canta cum illis, ora deum et per ipsum, ut credo, sanitate pocieris". (*The monk did so, recovered his health, and lived long.*)

[XXII. *The unstable monk again.*]N.L., I., 42,
ll. 23-43; II.,
550, ll. 3-30.
f. 68 d.

Eodem tempore isdem frater de quo in superioribus diximus, ille uidelicet cuius animam deum rogauit Alredus ut sibi daretur, pristinae mutabilitatis incendio conflagratus de monasterio recedere uolebat. (*After a conversation which is copied in the summaries, the monk went to the gate, Ailred to pray.*) . . . Jam accedens subcellerarius ad eum, proximus uidelicet ei secundum carnem, dicit, "O tu, quid facis, excecans oculos tuos pro miserrimo illo? Insuper et uotum fecisti ut te fame occidas si non redeat ille." Et sanctus, "Quid ad te? Noli, queso, dolorem dolori meo addere, nam crucior in hac flamma, et cito morior nisi subueniatur filio meo. Quid ad te?" Fugitiuus autem ad portam ueniens exire festinabat. (*The rest is given in the summaries. The monk, although the gates were open, was invisibly restrained from proceeding.*)

[XXIII. *The monk with the dead arm, who was cured by Ailred's* N.L., I., 42, II. 43-45.
staff.]¹

Per idem tempus frater quidam in monasterio eius artificiosus ualde unius brachii mortificationem incurrens, totum corpus perinde arbitrabatur mortiferum. Nam uis inualitudinis totum occupans membrum triplici reflexu tanquam arietis cornu interius replicauerat et manum emortuam infra triplicationem eandem miserabiliter contorserat, ita ut in lecto super latus partis infirme nunquam pausare potuisset, quoniam uni membro infirmanti cetera omnia compaciebantur. | Erat isdem f. 69 a. monachus bene simplex et admodum religiosus et bone fidei innitens ualde. Qui cum quadam die adiret ecclesiam quatinus missarum sacris interesset solempniis, intuens baculum abbatis infixum in ligno quodam secus ostium oratorii, eadem uirga per merita beati uiri et gratiam Jhesu Christi sanitatem recuperare presumpsit. Accipiens enim sana manu eundem baculum trina circuiicione circumduxit eum infirmanti particule, signo crucis tercio repetito, et mox ad tertium circuitum ligni et tertium salutiferi signi brachium resilit ad solitam longitudinem, manus redit ad naturalem mobilitatem et sanitas abegit omnem incommoditatem.

[XXIV. *Death of Abbot William.*]

Cum igitur multis aliis et huiusmodi uirtutum et miraculorum splendidissimis radiis pater uenerabilis Alredus fulgeret, domino Willelmo abbate Rieuall' ultima inimica mors extremum clausit diem uite presentis.² Cuius uita uere in benedictione est quia benedictionem dedit illi dominus et testimonium suum confirmauit super capud eius. Ex eo siquidem tanquam ex indeficiente fonte religionis riuli ad posteros deriuati sunt, qui usque hodie in domo Rieuall' et in filiabus eius sufficienter fluunt et superfluunt, ad potum habiles et commodi, et ad ablucionem infirmorum salubres et indeficientes effecti.

[XXV. *Abbot Maurice.*]

Huic successit Mauricius magne sanctitatis uir et preclare prudencie utpote qui potauerat a puero uiuum leticie spiritale in claustro Dunolmensi, et ex pane Cuthberti uiri Dei refectus creuerat in sub-

N.L., II., 5
 II. 30-35.

¹ For this cf. above, p. 466. Tynemouth devotes three incorrect lines to this miracle; the Bury MS. omits it.

² Abbot William died 2 August, 1145. See the references and extracts in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 108-109.

lime ita ut a sociis secundus Beda cognominaretur ; cui reuera erat in tempore suo tam uite quam sciencie prerogatiua secundus. Hunc uero ego ipse uidi et bene noui et scio quia paucos tales modo terra tenet moriencium. Hic autem moleste ferens inquieta onera cure pastoralis portare, uilicacioni abrenunciens post duos annos in claustro maluit consedere.

N.L., II., 550, [XXVI. *Ailred elected Abbot of Rievaulx. His critics.*
il. 35-40.

Cui Alredus a fratribus iure subrogatus amplius solito lucere iam cepit et quasi sol in centro eleuatur claritatem sue lucis is latius effudit. Quidam uero ad huius domus regimen proprie uoluntatis ambitione ascendisse illum arbitrantur, quod falsum esse boni omnes nouerunt. Quid enim mirum si uirtus uiri emulos ad falsum prouocauit ? Res est uirtus que nunquam caret inuidia. Et quantos male zelantes pacificus ille sustinuit ? Adhuc uiuunt eorum aliquanti, sed mors eius preciosa in aspectu domini errorem inuidencium amputauit. Et in uita quoque | sua monstra placauit. Quasi enim monstra quidam insurrexunt in eum malignantes et peruersi homines quorum lingua contra iustum locuta est mendacium, et superbia eorum qui oderunt eum ascendit semper. Alii dicebant " quia bonus," alii " non, sed est homo uorax, potatorum uini et publicatorum amicus, balneis et unguentis dedens corpus suum ". Quibus respondeo.

f. 69 b.

[XXVII. *Walter's answer to Ailred's detractors. This chapter is summarized sufficiently in N.L., II., 550, l. 39 to 551, l. 4.]*

[XXVIII. *Ailred's prophetic vision of the death of the unstable monk.*]¹

Qui plane eodem tempore per sompnum futura manifesta uidit de supradicto uidelicet fratre cuius exitum per portam in seculum prece sua retardauit. Iam idem frater missus cum domino Daniele patre meo et quibusdam aliis de domo nostra a uiro uenerabili Alredo ad abbathiam quamdam religione Cisterciensi ab eis illuminandam, nomine Swinesheued,² in redeundo domi appropinquabat. Nocte autem illa

¹ Above, p. 312.

² The abbey of Hoiland or Swineshead, in Lincolnshire, whose abbot, Gilbert, was a friend of Ailred (above, p. 312) was founded by Robert Grelley and settled by monks from Furness (see Tait, *Mediæval Manchester*, p. 132). The statement in the text that Daniel and his companions were sent to enlighten or advise the monks of Swineshead suggests, so far as it

que diem crastinum induxit in quo ad portam Rieuall' uenturus erat uir ille, | abbas Alredus dormitans uel dormiens, nescio, deus scit,¹ in lecto f. 69 c. suo iacebat. Et ecce homo uultu uenerabilis astitit coram eo et dixit, "Abba, mane hora prima ille tuus monachus ad portam monasterii apparebit. Fac ergo eum ingredi claustra monasterii, quia post paucos dies grauissima infirmitate corripietur et inter manus tuas morietur." Quibus prophetatis uates in uisione disparuit, et uir sanctus a sompno euigilauit. Recedente itaque nocte dieque subsequente secundum ordinem temporis prima lucis hora mundum ingreditur, et homo prophetatus pre foribus abbathie adesse abbati nunciatur. Qui mandans patri quatinus ad eum dignetur exire, et (*sic*) libenter paret sanctus ad illum descendere. Quem, ut uidit, osculatus est dulciter et de uisione cogitans fleuit super eum ualde suauiter. Rogat eum ingredi et letari spiritali leticia, quia "iam, iam," inquit, "deo uolente perficeris in gloria". Cuius eloquium non capiens homo subridet et submurmurat ut "quid inquietis, intrabo ad mortem illam interminatam quam semper paciuntur claustrales? Immo uel saltem per unum mensem licencia tua uisito parentes meos et cum eis uel tantillo tempore fruor bonis presentibus et sic iterum ad te redeo." "Non erit ita, fili mi," ait pater, "sed nunc intra, quia sine te diucius non uiuo nec tu sine me morieris". Blanda igitur allocucione illexit monachum ut secum intraret in monasterium. Quo introeunte supra quam credi potest gaudet abbas et in corde iucundum licet occultum festum inchoat celebrare. Transactis autem quinque diebus uel sex hospes² qui aduenerat infirmatur et fortissimo languore concutitur. Sanguis ex naribus profluit sine intermissione; incipiunt fratres omnes de illius uita desperare. Inter hec currit et discurrit pater solaciando filio et seruitoris officium sedulo inpendit egroto. At post dies perpaucos eger urgetur reddere animam, pro qua exeunte de corpore abbas more solito solempnem recitat letaniam³; sed, cum dicit, sue uisionis immemor

goes, that the abbey had been recently founded and thus supports the date 1148 (given in the *coucher* of Furness) as against the less likely date 1134 given in other sources. For the date see *Coucher Book of Furness*, ed. Atkinson (Chetham Society), I. i. 11-12.

¹ MS. *sit*.

² Walter, of course, is not using this word in a precise sense.

³ *Consuetudines*, ch. xciii in Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, pp. 206-207.

manibus morientem non amplectitur; unde semel atque iterum letaniam concludit et tercio eandem incipere cogitur. Tandem in mentem reducens que uiderat, caput inter manus apprehendens, proclamat, "Sancte Benedicte, ora pro eo". Qui cum caput tetigit et sanctum nominauit, statim inter manus eius ultimum monachus spiritum efflauit. Sed iam sequencia prosequamur.

[XXIX. *Rievaulx under Ailred.*]

Hic ergo domum Rieuallē fortissimam reddidit ad tollerandas infirmos, | ad fortes nutriendos et perfectos, ad pacem habendam et pietatem et ad plenissimam possidendam Dei et proximi caritatem. Quis ibi licet abiectissimus et contemptibilis locum quietis non inuenit? Quis debilis unquam¹ uenit ad eam et in Alredo non reperit paternam dilectionem et in fratribus debitam consolationem? Quis aliquando fragilis corpore uel moribus a domo illa expulsus est nisi eius iniquitas uel uniuersitatem offenderet congregacionis uel propriam omnino salutem extingueret? Unde quidem ex exteris nacionibus et remotis terre finibus conuolabant ad Rieuallē monachi misericordia indigentes fraterna et compassione reuera, qui ibi reperunt pacem et sanctimoniam sine qua nemo uidebit Deum. Et utique illi qui uagantes in seculo quibus nullus locus religionis prestabat ingressum, accedentes ad matrem misericordie Rieuallē et portas apertas inuenientes libere² introierunt in eas confitentes Domino. Quorum si quis postea insulsos mores cum strepitu iracundie reprehendere presumpsisset, "noli," Alredus inquit, "noli, frater, occidere animam pro qua Christus mortuus est, noli effugare gloriam nostram a domo ista, memento quia et nos peregrini sumus, sicut omnes patres nostri, et hec est suprema et singularis gloria domus Rieuall' quod pre ceteris didicit tollerare infirmos et necessitatibus compati aliorum. Et hoc est testimonium consciencie nostre, quia sancta est domus hec, quoniam pacificos filios generat Deo suo. Debent," inquit, "omnes, et infirmi et fortes, locum in Rieuallē pacis inuenire, ibique, uelut in maris latitudine pisces, gratam et iocundam ac spaciosam caritatis possidere quietem, ut de illa dicatur: Illuc ascenderunt tribus, tribus domini, testimonium Israel ad confitendum nomini Domini.³ Tribus utique forcium et tribus infirmorum. Neque domus illa religiose creditur que infirmos tolerare

¹ MS. *unquam*.

² In margin.

³ Ps. cxxi. 4.

contempnit. Imperfectum meum uiderint oculi tui et in libro tuo omnes scribentur.”¹

[XXX. *The same subject continued.*]

Nec pretermittendum quomodo creuerit sancta hec habitacio, uide-^{N.L., II., 5} licet domus Rieuall', sub manu uenerabilis patris. Omnia duplicauit^{l. 43 to l. 4.} in ea, monachos, conuersos, laicos, fundos et predia et suppellectilem uniuersam. Religionem uero et caritatem triplicauit quidem. Videres festis diebus in oratorio, tamquam in alueolo apes, fratrum turbas constringi et conglomerari, nec pre multitudine usquam progredi ualentes, set consertas aduincem et collegiatas unum quoddam | exprimere corpus f. 70 a. angelicum. Hinc est quod post se Rieualli reliquit monachos bis sepcies decem et decies sexaginta² laicos fratres pater recedens ad Christum.^{N.L., I., 4} Substantias eciam tantas dimisit illis que ad uictum et uestitum maiori^{ll. 1-3.} sufficiant multitudini, si res cum prudentia tractentur, et preteris superhabundent. Qui uero in recipiendo uolentes conuerti ad ordinem fingeat se longius ire, ut fratrum precacionibus nolens urgeretur ad consensum; unde factum est quod plurimi exciperentur in monasterio quos ipse ignoraret. Nam sepe illorum iudicio et discrecioni relinquebat ut quos uellent assumerent. Erat nempe uerecundissimus et condescendens imbecillitati singulorum, nec quemquam adiudicabat contristari, preces ad illum porrigentem causa caritatis.

[XXXI. *The privileges allowed him on account of his illness.*]

Hic igitur tam sanctus uir per decem annos ante obitum suum^{N.L., II., 5} artetica passione nouos pristinis adiectos persensit sepiissime cruciatus, qui-^{ll. 5-18.} bus tam horribiliter detentus est ut uiderim eum in lutcheamine³ iniectum per quatuor eius inicia, quatuor manibus uiuorum apprehensa, inter celum et terram suspendi, et sic ad necessitatem nature deportari, uel ad lectorum alternacionem remoueri; qui cuiuslibet attactu corpulencie, uelut diri uulneris mucrone percussus, clamando doloris magnitudinem indicabat. Causa uero huius passionis in generali abbatum capitulo apud Cistercium concessum est illi, quatinus in infirmatorio manducans

¹ Ps. cxxxviii. 16.

² The original reading was apparently “decies quinquaginta,” a figure given in both the summaries. The total number subject to the abbot in 1142 was about 300, if a passage in the *Speculum Caritatis* can be taken literally (P.L., CXCV., 563).

³ Probably a local Latinised word; cf. the Yorkshire dialect word, *lutch*, to lift.

et dormiens et cetera necessaria infirmitati sue sedulo exhibens, non tamen se in officio suo ut infirmus haberet, sed potius per omnia in conuentu quando uellet ordinis sui administraret negocia, cantando uidelicet missas publice et priuatim, ad grangias pergendo et quando uellet redeundo horas regulares in curia ubi sibi placeret decantando, et in chorum temporibus ceteris abbatibus non determinatis ueniendo, et nonnulla alia utilitatibus ecclesie sue subministrando. Quam liberalem condicionem uerecunde quidem suscipiens et grauiter ferens, iussit sibi fieri mausoleum iuxta communem cellam infirmorum et ibi consistens duorum solacio fratrum curam totius infirmitatis sue subiecit, omnem detestans uoluptatem deliciarum et blandinas uanitatis. Quod quidem tugurium patris ad tantam consolacionem fratrum edificatum est, ut uenientes ad illud et in eo sedentes uiginti simul uel triginta¹ singulis diebus conferrent ad inuicem de spirituali iocunditate scripturarum et ordinis disciplinis. Non erat | qui diceret eis, "recedite, abite, lectum abbatis nolite tangere," sed super grabatum illius ambulantes et decumbentes loquebantur cum eo ut paruulus confabulabatur cum matre sua. Dicebat autem eis, "Filii, loquimini que uultis, tantummodo non exeat de ore uestro uerbum turpe, detractio in fratrem et blasphemia contra deum". Non sic infrunite agebat cum suis ut est quorundam consuetudo abbatum insipientium qui, si monachus socii manum tenuerit sua (*sic*) uel aliqua dixerit quod illis displiceat, carpam postulant. Non sic Alredus, non sic. Decem et septem annis uixi sub magisterio eius et neminem in omni tempore illo de monasterio fugauit mansuetus ille super omnes qui morabantur in terra. Quatuor tamen de illo interim exierunt eo nesciente, sed omnes reduxit dominus preter unum cuius conuersacio sequitur Sathanam. Plane in angulo supradicte celle quasi quoddam interim cubiculum constituens, claudi illud lignea interiectione precepit. In quo crucem et reliquias quorundam sanctorum collocans, locum ibi orationis dedicauit. Et cogitans quia non dormitat neque dormit qui custodit Israel, tanquam ipsius uicarius et ipse parum dormiuit in lecto, plurimum orauit in eodem loco. Ibi permittente infirmitatis eius quamculacumque quiete² flexis genibus patrem pulsabat precibus in animo contrito et spiritu ueritatis.

f. 70 b.

N.L., I., 43,
II., 5-7.

¹ The Bury MS. reads "nunc x., nunc xii., nunc etiam plusquam uiginti monachi simul conferrent ad inuicem" (N.L., II., 551, ll. 17, 18).

² *quiete* in margin.

[XXXII. *Ailred's writings.*]

Multa in illa mansione memoria digna conscripsit. Ante tamen ^{N.L., II., 5} hoc tempus uita Daud Regis Scocie sub specie lamentandi edidit cui ^{II. 19-43.} genealogiam Regis Anglie Henrici iunioris uno libro comprehendens adiunxit.¹ Eciam ante illud tempus de lectione euangelica que sic incipit, *cum factus est Jhesu annorum xii^{cin}*, expositionem nobilem et tripharia distincione, historica uidelicet et morali atque mistica fulgentem, cuidam monacho de Sartis, nomine luone, ex bibliotheca sui cordis transmisit.² Ac in illo secretario supramemorato triginta tres omelias super onus babilonis in Isaia et quedam de sequentibus ualde subtiles et utiles manu sua scribendo consummauit. Post quas edidit tres libros de spirituali amicitia sub dialogo. In quorum primo luonem supradictum se interrogantem introduxit et me in sequentibus loquentem secum ordinauit. Et post hos unum librum scripsit sorori sue incluse | f. 70 c. castissime uirgini, quo docebat huius professionis sequaces, institutum inchoacionis, eiusdem feruorem et illius perfectionem.³ Quo completo uitam edidit sanctissimi Regis Edwardi literali gloria magna lucentem et fulgore miraculorum. Deinde euangelicam lectionem exposuit ad honorem eiusdem sancti et ad eam legendam in eius solempnitate ad uigilias, que hoc modo incipit, *Nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio sed super candelabrum*. Hec scripsit rogatus a Laurencio abbate Westmonasterii cognato suo et fratribus ibidem Deo studentibus complacere.⁴ Post que de anima, id est de illius natura et quantitate ac subtilitate, atque nonnullis aliis ad animam pertinentibus, duos libros perfecit, et tertium pene usque ad finem deduxit, set ante finem suum in hac uita eius in terra finem non conclusit. Nam debitum uniuerse carnis antequam ille fineretur exsoluit.⁵ Inter hec epistolas ad dominum

¹ The description of Henry as *junior*, shows that Walter Daniel wrote his life of Ailred before the coronation of the young King Henry in 1170.

² This is the "de duodecimo anno aetatis Christi" or "tractatus de Jesu puero duodenni," edited by Mabillon with the works of St. Bernard, and reprinted in Migne (P.L., CLXXXIV., col. 849 ff.).

³ The "liber de institutione inclusarum" was printed by the Benedictines of St. Maur with the writings of St. Augustine and is reprinted by Migne in the same connection (P.L. XXXII., col. 1451 ff.). The medieval English translation was made from a fuller text. See Horstmann's edition of the translation (Vernon MS.) in *Englische Studien*, VII., 305-344 (1884).

⁴ Above, pp. 349, 479.

⁵ For the existing MS. of the *De Anima*, see above, p. 477.

papam, ad regem Francie, ad regem Anglie, ad regem Scocie, ad archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et Eboracensem, et fere ad omnes episcopos totius Anglie atque ad illustrissimos uiros regni eiusdem et maxime ad comitem Leicestrie, illustri stilo exaratas transmisit, et ad omnem ordinem ecclesiastice dispensacionis, in quibus uiuentem sibi reliquit imaginem, quia quod ibi literis commendauit hoc in uita ipse compleuit et multo melius uixit quam ibi dicere potuit. Sermones disertissimos et omni laude dignos in capitulis nostris et in synodis et ad populos perorauit, qui ad ducentas infallor determinaciones peruenerunt.¹

[XXXIII. *The miracles.*]

Igitur cum tales fructus parturiret uenerabilis pater, comitabantur eum nichilominus miracula que nunc ueraci stilo prosequemur. In iustum enim indicamus testam,² lignum, es et ferrum,² quibus in exterioribus habundauit pater, ostendere legentibus hoc opus, argentum uero et aurum et lapides preciosos, quibus in spiritu superhabundauit, reticere.

N.L., I., 43,
II., 13-17; II.,
552 II., 6-10.

[XXXIV. *The monk with heart trouble who became dumb.*]

f. 70 d.
N.L., II., 552,
II., 11-13.

[XXXV. *The opilio who was dumb for three days and was brought to Ailred.*]

f. 70 d.

[XXXVI. *The young monk with syncope, who lost the use of his senses.*]

N.L., I., 43,
II., 17-20.

Adolescentem quemdam monachum sincopis passio perurgens urgebat spiritum eius relinquere corpus. Oculi enim nil uidentes et aures nichil audientes. . . . Pater uero illa hora in pomerio cum cellerariis quarundam causarum acta residens disponebat. Et ibi

¹ The writer in the Bury MS. (N.L., II., 551, II. 36-42) tries to give an idea of the extent of Ailred's literary work. His summary modified the original as follows: "Sermones eciam disertissimos in capitalis et in synodis centum perorauit. Inter hec epistolas ad papam et regem Francie et Anglie et Scocie, ad archiepiscopos cantuarienses et eboracenses, et fere ad omnes episcopos Anglie et alias plures personas, trecentas edidit. Opuscula autem eius in libris et tractatibus pretactis, et aliis similibus, ad uicinarium numerum uel ultra pertingunt, preter sermones centum, et xxxiii omelias in oneribus superius memoratis et preter epistolas trecentas." In the fifteenth century John Boston refers to a copy of Ailred's letters in the library of Glamorgan (Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, II., 294).

² Daniel ii. 45.

presens affui, cum ecce quidam nunciauit abbati sic se habere fratrem. Et adiungens, “festina,” inquit, “domine, priusquam moriatur”. Erat autem nox. Cerneret tunc senem cursitantem offendere pedibus et repurgium baculi, quo semper utebatur, contempnere. Ast ubi uenit ad miserum extinctum putauit, quia signum uite ubi quesunt nullum inuenit. Nam a pulsu motus omnis abscesserat. Cucurrit itaque tristis et gemebundus magister ad oratoriolum suum et inde assumens reliquias quorundam sanctorum et textum euangelii Iohannis quod super se portauerat annis multis, indutus cilicio ad nudum tulit omnia et ad pectus infirmi astrinxit et cum lacrimis proloquens dixit, “Dilecte fili, sanet te dei filius”. Et confestim dolor omnis conquieuit.

[XXXVII. *The mysterious death of the scurrilous abbot of a daughter house.*]¹

Eodem tempore spiritualis quidam sponsus unius filiarum Rieuall' ^{N.L., I., II. 20-27.} uisitandi gracia peciit matrem suam. Qui quoque abbas promtulus ualde ad conserendas contumelias et male astutus ad tendenda retia ante oculus pennatorum, irruit eciam in patrem nostrum et impetens illum cum iaculis maledictionum uehementer, et multarum blasphemiarum spiculis persequens crudeliter, comouit spiritum eius ad indignationem contra se et merito in se prouocauit iratum. Nam lis eius iniusta controuersiam confecerat contrariam sibi, quam dum nititur excedere, ruit ipse in malum et luminis rebellio super se congerit densum lucum, dum cor sancti lustratum luce iusticie opinatur extinguere. Quam uiri maliciam grauiter ferens, ueritatis amator ad celum eleuat oculos unacum illis in altum dirigens manus, uerba exserit terribilia nimis aduersum seuientem linguam hoc modo: “Domine rex eterne glorie, sentiat, queso, cito iste finem malicie sue, quia tu scis falsa esse que nomini meo stomachatur ascribere”. At quid? Postquam uero delirus ille animo inflato satis egerat reumatizando in patrem sputa mendacii, rediit ad domum suam sine benedictione uenerabilis patris Alredi cum magna eciam indignatione omnium fratrum Rieuallis. At quum sanctorum uerba non pereunt, quorum non unum quoque iotha sine causa prolatum cognoscitur, idem ipse, qui paulo ante incinnuerat contra iustum, mox ut tangit proprie limen domus miserabiliter decidit in lectum et die septimo post initium mali uite finem cum magnis cruciatibus terminauit.

¹ See above, pp. 462, 470, 483.

[XXXVIII. *Ailred's visit to Galloway. Social conditions.*]¹

N.L., I., 43,
l. 27-43.

Post hoc pater in Galwadium descendens ad filiam unam Rieuall' uisitandam et consolandam, inuenit regulum terre illius contra filios suos iratum nimis et filios in patrem seuientes et in se inuicem fratres.² Est autem terra illa fera et homines bestiales et barbarum omne quod gignit. Veritas ibi non habet ubi caput suum reclinet, quia a planta pedis usque ad uerticem non est in terra illa ulla sapiencia. Nam neque fides neque uera spes neque caritas constans perdurat in ea longo tempore. Ibi castitas tociens patitur naufragium quociens libido uoluerit, nec est inter castam et storcum ulla distancia nisi quod castiores inibi per menses uiros alternent et uir pro una bucula uendat uxorem. Quidam tamen homines terre illius, si fuerint in domo quauis regulari constituti, redduntur ad modum religiosi, aliorum tamen consilio et ducatu, nam propria industria uix aliquando in uirum occurrent perfectum; sunt enim naturaliter ebetes et animalem habentes spiritum ac per hoc semper intendentes uoluptatibus carnis. In hoc tamen barbarie plantauit Rieuall' plantacionem unam, que nunc fructificat fructum plurimum adiutorio dei, qui dat incrementum nouelle plantacioni.³ Quam, ut dictum est, uisitans pater inuenit principes illius prouincie dissencientes inter se, quorum odia et rancores animorum et tirannidem ad inuicem nec rex scocie humiliare potuit | nec episcopus mitigare suffecit, sed filii in patrem consurgentes et pater in filios et frater in fratrem et e conuerso multo sanguine infelicem terrulam polluerunt cotidie. Quos omnes conueniens Alredus

71 b.

¹ Considering that Walter Daniel wrote within ten years of the events which he describes, his chronology is strangely confused. He says that Ailred's visit to Galloway, during which he reconciled the prince (regulus) and his sons, took place four years before his death (i.e. in 1162-3). But Fergus of Galloway resigned and took vows at Holyrood, Edinburgh, in 1160 after the subjection of Galloway by King Malcolm in three campaigns. He died in 1161 at Holyrood (see the passages from the annals of Melrose and Holyrood, quoted by Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, pp. 56, 67). It is clear from Walter's narrative that Ailred's visit occurred before the campaigns of 1160, or at least before their victorious completion. Probably the writer has combined the events of two different journeys, one in 1159, in which year Ailred is known from the life of St. Waldef to have been in Scotland (above, p. 479), and another in 1162-3. Ailred was again in Galloway in 1164-5 (above, pp. 480, 487).

² See the last note.

³ Dundrennan Abbey.

pacificus uerbis pacis et uirtutis natos iratos firmissima pace federauit in unum dilectionis uinculum, et ueteranum genitorem illorum religionis habitum suscipere uiuaciter admonuit et admonicione mirabili ad quod intimaui flexit, et illum qui multa milia hominum uita priuauerat, uite participem eterne fieri docuit et docendo ad hoc profecit, ut uir ille in monasterio religiosorum fratrum¹ diem uite clausurit extremum, et iam de eodem recte dici possit, ubi ceciderit lignum ibi erit.² Filii uero eius, postea colentes patrem multa ueneratione, adhuc perdurant in tranquilla pace.³ Hiis quasi per excessum expeditis ad miracula reuertamur.

[XXXIX. *The young man who swallowed a frog while drinking.*]⁴

Itaque cum in terra illa reuertens Rieuallum cum suis dominus^{N.L., I., II. 1-6; I. 552, II. 13} equitaret, obuiam sibi habuit adolescentem distentum ante et retro, et tergo uidelicet et uentre horribiliter tumidum . . . (*explicit*) Deinde^{f. 71 c.} ceptum carpens iter ad filios abbas in breui prospero cursu consummauit. Hec ab eo acta sunt ante ⁱⁱⁱj^{or} annos transmigracionis eiusdem ad celestia.

[XL. *The last four years of Ailred's life.*]

In illis autem annis quatuor quomodo, tanquam alter quidam Noe, archam uite sue in unius cubiti latitudine constrinxit, et sarca tecta templi mundissimi sui corporis restaurauit in melius, et omnes lapides sanctuarii immaculati pectoris polliuit et quadratos reddidit et perpendiculo arctioris conuersacionis in parietem perfectionis copulauit, breuiter deo uolente comprehendam. Non enim omnia scribimus que mirifice ab eo factitata noscuntur. Set uelut quibusdam laudabilibus notis⁵ militis Christi designamus triumphos aliquantulos, pro modulo ingenii quo innitimur . . . (*He will describe only fully attested and well-known facts.*)

¹ Holyrood, see p. 512, note 1.

² Cf. Ecclesiastes, xi. 3.

³ The two brothers, Gilbert and Uchtred, revolted in August, 1174, after the capture of King William the Lion at Alnwick in July. In September Gilbert murdered his brother (William of Newburgh, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 186-187). If proof were needed, this reference to the peaceful condition of Galloway under the two brothers is additional evidence of the early date of Walter Daniel's work.

⁴ Above, p. 471.

⁵ MS. *noctis*, the *c* punctuated.

71 d.

N.L., I., 44,
6-11.

[XLI. *During the last four years of his life his austerities increased and, rejecting the advice of his physicians, he considered only the welfare of the soul.*]

[XLII. *His private devotions.*]

In uigiliis autem et orationibus ita extunc se armauit assiduitate infatigabili et uelut inmersit in contemplacionis abyssu ut multociens in oratoriolo inclusus regulares horas obliuisceretur et cibi refectionem. Solito enim sedulior in lectione, in oratione, in contemplacione, neglexit ex multa parte presenciam et se iugiter representauit futuris. Legebat autem libros quorum litera¹ lacrimas elicere solet et edificare mores, et maxime confessiones Augustini manibus portabat assidue, eo quod illos libros quasi quasdam introductiones habebat cum a seculo conuerteretur. Sedebat eciam in fouea quadam in solo prefati oratorioli sui et cogitans quia pulvis esset; in ea singulis diebus flebat et dicebat deo in oratione: "Quam diu, domine, ista complectetur miseria, quam diu nox, quam diu tenebre circumdabunt me, quam diu abhominabuntur me uestimenta mea?"

71 d-72 a.

N.L., I., 44,
15-17.72 a.
bid., II. 17-20

[XLIII. *His heavenly visitors.*]²

Set non erat in tenebris pater noster in illo loco. . . .

bid., II. 20-25.

[XLIV. *The spirit of prophecy given him so that he knew the sins of the brethren before they confessed them.*]

bid., II. 26-32.

[XLV. *His comment, when he was told that two monks, tempted by the devil, had cried out in the dormitory at night.*]

72 a-c.

bid., I., 44,
32 to I., 45,19.
72 c.

[XLVII. *The vision which one of the monks had about the death of Ailred.*]

[XLVIII. *The Abbot's sufferings during the last year of his life. His words in chapter.*]

N.L., I., 46,
19-23.

Igitur per illum annum integrum qui decessionem patris precessit, tussis quidem sicca pectus eius uentilans eciam cum aliis plurifariis infirmitatum generibus in tantum debilitauit eum et cuiusdam tediosa lassitudinis affecit, ut non nunquam rediens de oratorio missarum solempniis celebratis in cellam suam et per unam horam nec loqui nec

¹ N.L. *lectio*.

² The Sanctilogium Anglie (N.L., I., 44-45) gives a full summary of the following five chapters. The Bury MS. omits them.

mouere se usquam preualens, cubaret in stratu quodammodo insensibilis. (*After describing the nature of the cough Walter Daniel proceeds:*) Hanc itaque molestiam paciens per annum, ut dictum est, integrum, tandem in uigilia natalis Domini cepit non solum dolore corporis solito plus torqueri, uitamque presentem inualitudinem agitare,¹ set et animo ualidissimo et inuictissimo cupere dissolui et esse cum Christo. Unde dicebat, “cum Christo,” inquit, “esse | multo magis f. 72 d. optimum, fratres. Et quomodo diu durare potero in hac durissima molestia carnis? Ego igitur uolo et desidero, si deo placet, quatinus me de hoc carcere cito educat et in locum refrigerii deducat, in locum tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad seipsum.” Hec fratres audientes, nam in capitulo ista dicebat, hoc, inquam, audientes fratres, suspirabant et lacrimabantur. At unde suspiria eorum, unde lacrimae? Quia nimirum uiderunt infirmitatem et uoluntatem patris unius esse consensus et per hoc occurrebat mentibus filiorum illum quantocius migraturum ab eis. Quo die multum illos edificans testimoniis diuini uerbi reuersus est in cellam suam.

[*L. Ailred's last days. He calls the brethren together.*]

Qui ad uesperas ueniens et iterum nocte ad uigilias et mane ad capitulum² sermonem habuit ad nos humillimo coronatum proemio et prolatum cum affectu cordis et corporis multa fatigacione. Affuit eciam ad missas et ad uesperas quidem illo die sedens iuxta gradus presbiterii. Vesperis autem completis in cella sua recipitur et per manus ministrorum in lecto reclinatur. Iacet ergo quasi per duas horas uelut insensibilis et demimortuus, cum cite venio et uideo patrem sudare pro angustia et faciem uersam in pallorem subrufam et oculos lacrimantes et pirulam narium fluctuantem et labia constricta dentibus, et dico cuidam fratri, “Vere, dominus abbas ualde dure patitur modo; nam sunt indicia magni doloris iste uarietates membrorum”. Ille autem dulciter me intuens, ut erat dulcissimus, “ita, fili mi, ita, ita,” inquit, “est ut loqueris, ualde uxor ualitudinis huius cruciatibus ac cito finis erit calamitatis tante per uoluntatem domini ihesu”. Volebant illa hora loqui cum eo fratres quidam super domus negociis et stabant circa lectum eius. Ille uero rogauit me quatinus eis dicerem, quod non sufficeret spiritus eius ad formanda uerba et languor intencionem circa

¹ So the MS.

² Christmas Day, 1166.

se¹ retineret. Quod feci et non sine lacrimis. Nocte uero sequenti lenius aliquid senciens et die postero, et me uenientem ad illum hilariter respiciens dixit, "Heri, fili mi, turbati fuimus et parum potuimus loqui et iccirco non parum doluimus, maxime quia consolari fratres non suffecimus uerbis nostris, nec sicut quidem fecimus nudius tercius". At subsequens nox dolorem patri magnum induxit, nobis autem maximum, quia illius corporis tantum erat, noster uero animi merentis et contristati pro eo uehementissime. Siquidem deinde carne nimium fragilis, spiritu tamen fortissimus existens, corpore sensim deficiebat ex nocte illa et in reliquum quinque, animi uirtute semper idem, qui esse solebat, perduraret. Exinde enim lecto decumbens assidue hanela uoce loquebatur, et de die in diem corpus illius debilitabatur in tantum ut iij^o Non Januarii² iusserit ante se vocari omnes monachos, quos hoc modo allocutus est :—

[Ll. *His speech.*]

f. 73 a.

"Sepe pecii a uobis licenciam uel cum transfretare habuissem | uel debuisssem ad remotas quasque prouincias propare uel institissem regis curiam petere; at nunc uestra cum licencia unacum orationum uestrarum suffragiis uado de hoc exilio ad patriam, de tenebris ad lucem, de hoc seculo nequam ad Deum, quia iam tempus est ut me recipiat ad se qui me redemit per se sine me, sibi que gratia sua inter uos uite melioris uinculo dignatus est colligare arcus. Satis est, inquit, quod hucusque uiuimus, quia bonum dominum habemus et uultui eius assistere iam placet anime mee. Vos autem ipse custodiat in bono semper et ab omni malo liberet, et qui sanctos suos non deserit unquam nunquam uestri obliuiscatur qui est benedictus in secula." Quibus respondentibus "Amen," adiecit piissimus pater: "ego cum bona consciencia conuersatus sum inter uos, quia dominum testem inuoco in animam meam utpote constitutus, ut cernitis, in articulo mortis quod nunquam postquam habitum huius religionis accepi cuiuslibet hominis malicia uel detraccione uel litigio in illum exarsi aliqua commocione, que diei finem in domicilio cordis mei expectare preualuisset. Semper enim pacem diligens et fraternam salutem et propriam quietem, hoc gratia christi animo imperaui ne turbata mentis mei paciencia solis

N.L., I., 45,
l. 23-29.

¹ MS. originally read "languor circa intencionem se retineret". The scribe put a mark of omission before the word *se*, and added *circa* in margin. The first *circa* is crossed through by a later hand.

² 3 January.

occubitus pertransiret.” Ad hec uerba fleuimus omnes, et pro lacrimis uix uidit quis proximum suum, et maxime cum ille flens diceret nobis, “scit ipse qui scit omnia deus, quod uniuersos uos diligo ut me ipsum, et sincere ut mater filios cupio uos omnes in visceribus ihesu christi”.

[LII. *His advice on the choice of a successor.*]

Post hec precepit afferri coram se spalterium glosatum et confessiones augustini et textum euangelii iohannis et reliquas quorundam sanctorum et paruulam crucem que fuerat bone memorie archiepiscopi Henrici Eboracensis,¹ et dixit nobis, “ecce hec in oratoriolo meo penes me retinui et in hiis pro posse delectabar, solus in eo sedens cum uacarem ocio; argentum et aurum non est michi, unde non facio testamentum, quia nichil possideo proprium, uestrum est quicquid habeo et ego ipse”. Admonuit nos etiam ut in electione successoris eius queremus non que nostra sunt set que sunt dei, et ut iuniores priores domus et maturiores et sapienciores in hoc iudicio maxime sequi dignarentur.² Deinde dedit omnibus paternam benedictionem et optauit diuinam.

[LIII-LXI. *Ailred's death.*]

Die uero altera oleo sanctificationis perlinitur a Rogero venerabili abbate de Beilandia³ et uiatico uniuert misterii sacrosancti dominici corporis et sanguinis, illo cum lacrimis clamante, “domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum”. Quibus completis faciem uiuacitatem et corpulentiores mutuasse uidebatur, et toto die illo et sequenti usque ad secundam horam noctis uegetacionem eandem in uultu pretebat. Nullus tamen masticabilis cibus in os eius insumitur a die x^{mo} usque ad obitum.

[LIV.]

Igitur post secundam horam noctis alterius postquam sacramentum sacri dei suscepit, cepit etiam in uerborum deficere prolatu et quasi iam

¹ Henry Murdac.

² “In abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideretur ratio: ut hic constituatur quem sibi omnis cohors congregationis secundum timorem Dei siue etiam pars quamuis parua congregationis saniori consilio elegerit.”—Rule of St. Benedict, as observed by the Cistercians (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 51).

³ Roger, Abbot of Byland (c. 1146 to 1196). This was 5 January, 1167.

interesset celestibus terrena sapere minus. Sensus quinquepartiti perdurantes in eo integerrimi et inuiolabiles usque in finem, verba tamen breuissima | et diuisa fatiebant. Iam omnes in uno conuenimus et de itinere patris ad deum non dubitamus et pio zelo unusquisque contendit paterne infirmitati ministrare necessaria. Eramus autem circa illum nunc xii^{cim}, nunc xx^{ti}, nunc vero xl^{ta}, nunc etiam monachi centum quia sic vehementer amatus est a nobis amator ille omni nostrum. Et beatus ille abbas qui sic a suis amari meruerit. Hanc enim ille maximam beatitudinem estimauit ut sic amaretur dilectus a deo et hominibus cuius memoria in benedictione in eternum.

[LV.]

Et ego fateor in diebus illis sensi et ter[r]ibile nimis lecto illius assistere, sed porro plus iocundum. Terribile quantum ad hoc quod, ut conicio, angeli confabulantur cum eo, sed illo solo audiente quibus ni fallor sine intermissione respondebat. Hoc enim iugiter ex ore illius sonuit in aures nostras, “festinate, festinate”. Quod multociens per nomen christi commendauit, et anglice quidem, quia nomen christi hac lingua una silliba continetur et facilius profertur, et dulcius quodammodo auditur. Dicebat igitur, ut uerbis suis utar, “Festinate, for crist luue,” id est pro christi amore festinate. Cui cum dicerem, “quid, domine?” extendens ille manus quasi ad celestia et oculos erigens ut lampades ignis ad crucem que ibi aderat in facie, dixit, “ad illum quem uideo ante me, regem glorie, dimitte me quamtocius abire. Quid moramini? Quid agitis? Quid expectatis? festinate pro christi amore, festinate.” Dico uniuersis qui hunc locum lecturi sunt nuncquam sic compunctus sum in omni uita mea ut uerbis istis tociens repetitis, ita terribiliter prolatis, et tali uero et in tali hora, a uiro uirtutis et in hora mortis. Et hec quidem verba per tres dies continue procedebant de ore illius. Tribus namque diebus lento hanelitu spiritum trahebat, quia, spiritum fortissimum in corpore tenero possidens, etiam corpore deficiente ipse uix morti cedere potuit.

[LVI.]

Eodem tempore quidam ex sociis nostris, unus uidelicet ex seruitoribus patris, resupinus dormitabat pro tedio et ecce pater illi apparens, ut erat infirmus, dixit, “quando, frater, putas transibo?” Ad quem ille, “domine, nescio”; et pater, “pridie Idus Januarii migrabit ancilla domini anima mea a domo sua terrena quam hucusque

inhabitauit". Quod ita euenit ut dormienti fratri pater predixerat. Nam secunda die postea quam hoc audiuit frater a patre, pater recessit a corpore.

[LVII.]

Pridie sane quam obiret, abbas de fontibus¹ et abbas de Beilandia Rogerus | assistebant illi et pene omnes monachi et non nulli conuersi. f. 73 c. Legebat autem quidam frater passionem domini, illo audiente, qui verba iam formare non ualebat ut intelligerentur. At tamen ubicumque aliquid est recitatum uel ex humilitate domini uel ex constancia discipulorum, quum eloquio nequibat signis manuum mirabiliter collaudabat lectionis leticiam et interdum mocione labiorum et similitudine cuiusdam risus prorsus spiritalis. Alias autem, ubi uel Petrus negat uel Iudei accusant uel Pilatus addicit uel miles crucifigit, lacrimatur et significat digitis crudele esse quod agitur, et uultus tocius contristata figura. Inter hec uideres gaudia omni et dolores concurrere simul, risus et lacrimae, uox exultacionis et suspiria uno ex ore, uno in tempore, eadem in omnibus et omnia ex singulis in rem quandam publicam progredi; quia pium fuit gaudere cum patre, piumque cum patre dolere, dum et filii sit obitum patris plangere et eiusdem nichilominus patris leticie congaudere.

[LVIII.]

In illo die sedi ego et sustentauī capud eius manibus meis, aliis longius consedentibus nobis. Dixi autem demissa uoce, nemine nobis intendente, "domine, respice ad crucem et ibi sit oculus tuus ubi est cor". Statim igitur palpebras eleuans et pupillas luminum porrigens ad figuram ueritatis depictam in ligno, dixit ad illum qui pro nobis in ligno pertulit mortem, "Tu es deus meus et dominus meus, tu refugium meum et saluator meus, tu gloria mea et spes mea in eternum. In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum". Hec ita locutus est aperte ut scripta sunt, cum tamen ante per duos dies tanta simul non sit locutus, nec deinceps quidem tria uerba simul. Statim enim nocte sequenti spiritum solito lentius trahens usque ad quartam pene uigiliam sic iacebat. At tunc nobis² eum iam iamque obiturum sencientibus, positus est super cilicium et cinerem more monachorum, filiorumque turba circa illum adunata cum abbatibus quatuor qui affuerant, in

¹ Richard, abbot of Fountains (c. 1147 to 1170).

² *Nobis* in margin.

manus patris inpollutum spiritum emittens, quieuit in Christo. Obiit autem circa quartam uigiliam noctis pridie Idus Januarii, dominice uidelicet incarnationis anno millesimo c^o lx^{mo} vi^{to}, qui fuit annus vite illius quinquagesimus septimus.¹

N.L., I., 45,
II., 33-36; II.,
552, II., 22-24.

[LIX.]

f. 73 d.

Cum autem corpus eius ad lauandum | delatum fuisset et nudatum coram nobis, uidimus quodammodo futuram gloriam reuelatam in patre, cuius caro uitro purior, niue candidior, quasi quinquennis pueri membra induerat, que ne parue quidem macule neuus fuscabat, sed erant omnia plena dulcedinis decoris et delectacionis. Neque defectio capillorum cateruum fecerat eum nec longa infirmitas curuum, nec ieiunia pallidum nec lacrime lippum sed, integerrimis partibus corporis existentibus, lucebat pater defunctus ut carbunculus, ut thus redolebat, apparabet in candore carnis ut puerulus purus et immaculatus. Non me potui abstinere ab osculis quibus tamen pedes elegi, ne damnaretur michi affectio magis quam amor, et pulcritudo dormientis plusquam dilectio sic iacentis. Adhuc non me capio pre gaudio illius admirandi decoris cum de hoc cogito. Set quando non cogito? Quando non rumino dulcedinem illam, illam venustatem, illam gloriam? Deus meus, non obiit ille sic ut mortui seculi, non, domine, in obscuris set in limine tuo, quia in limine suo uidimus lumen tuum.

[LX.]

Cum igitur corpus eius pro consuetudine, non pro necessitate, baptizatum fuisset, nam aque ipse ab eo limpidiores reddebantur, cum ergo baptizatum esset aureum illum uasculum, in uasculo quodam parum balsami attulit quidam ad nos, quod ipse pater habuerat ad medicinam. Hoc ergo liquore, immo guttula liquoris huius, nam uasculum quidem quo continebatur uix amigdale magnitudinem excedebat, hac, inquam, guttula ego tres digitos patris dextere, pollicem uidelicet indicem et medium inungi adiudicaui, eo quod illis digitis multa de deo scripserat; alii autem linguam, alii faciem, maluerunt, cum tamen nulla uideretur sufficiencia uel ad unius articuli peruncionem habundare potuisse. At cum uenerabilis abbas Rogerus de Beilandia summitate pollicis totum pene tenuisset unguentum extractum

¹ 12 January, 1167 (n.s.). The Bury MS. adds, "et anno xx^o postquam domum Rieuallie suscepit regendam". (N.L., II., 552, l. 24).

a uasculo iniectioe minutissimi ligni, patris faciem inunxit, frontem aures et collum oculos et nasum totumque capud et adhuc tantum uncture illius superfuit quantum uidebatur esse quo incepit. Miramur omnes unguinis habundanciam tantam et mirantibus nobis manus patris abbas Rogerus unguere aggreditur et eadem copia perunxit quae cepit, nec sic in aliquo minuisse balsamum deprehendimus. | Unde f. 74 a. quidem et brachiorum partem non minimam ab eodem perfusam fuisse agnoscimus. Et nec sic utique cessauit unctio, set pendebat e digitis abbatis Rogeri infuse copiae celestis benedictio. At nos, conuentu fratrum expectante, festinauimus patrem ad illos reportare, tuncque tandem balsamum cessauit habundare.

[LXI.]

Post quae delatum est corpus eius in oratorium et in crastino, missis celebratis debitis circa patris exequias, obsequiis exhibitis et consummatis, in capitulo traditur sepulture iuxta predecessorem suum uirum uenerabilem et sanctum primumque abbatem Rieuall' Willelmum, cuius in superioribus fecimus mencionem. Cum quo iure pro meritis et gratia saluatoris per eum gaudebit et exultabit ante deum et dominum nostrum ihesum christum cui gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit uita uenerabilis Alredi abbatis Rieuall'. Incipit lamentatio auctoris uite eiusdem de eadem re.¹

¹ Walter Daniel's lamentation follows, f. 74 a-f. 75 b.

BRIEF NOTES ON SOME OF THE RARER OR UNIQUE ARABIC AND PERSIAN-ARABIC MANU- SCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY A. MINGANA, D.D.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

IT has been decided to print, from time to time, in these pages, brief descriptive notes on some of the rarer works to be found in the collection of Arabic, Persian and other Oriental Manuscripts preserved in the John Rylands Library.

The whole of the items dealt with in the present issue have been already fully described in the manuscript catalogue, which has been prepared with a view to publication when the cost of book-production becomes more normal. In the meantime students who are interested in such studies may have ready access to the full catalogue, and also to the manuscripts.

The object of these notes is to direct attention to a number of works of importance in this particular field of research, the very existence of which would otherwise remain unknown, since the whole of the items at present dealt with are either unique, or of such rare occurrence in the public libraries of Europe as to render them almost so.

To have dealt with the whole of such manuscripts in the collection would have taken up more space than can well be spared. We have therefore confined our attention to those coming under the head of Theology.

In subsequent issues it is our intention to deal in the same manner with other rare items in the departments of History, Natural Science, Philosophy, Literature, Language, Prayers, Charms, etc.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

No. 96. "TUḤFAH'ĀMMĪYAH." It contains quatrains on the twelve months of the Christian year, their beauty and their defects, in the

form of a dialogued dispute. The author is Philippos Faḍūl, of the second half of the eighteenth century. The MS. was written at Damietta in 1769, one year after its composition in Cairo.

No. 100. "KITĀB UṬ-ṬUBB UR-RUḤĀNĪ." An anonymous work on Christian mysticism in general. It consists of thirteen faṣls dealing with various vices affecting human life. The MS. seems to be of Spanish origin and is written on European paper; the binding is also of European origin. Eighteenth century.

No. 802. ISAAC OF NINEVEH. Arabic version of the works of the Syrian mystic, Isaac of Nineveh, who died towards the end of the seventh Christian century. The MS. has no date but it may be ascribed to about A.D. 1450. It belonged to a certain Athanasius Ṭabutika, who dedicated it to the monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt.

The works of Isaac of Nineveh, which were translated from Syriac into Arabic in the ninth Christian century, exercised a great and lasting influence on Christian mystics and Muslim Ṣūfis of later generations

MUSLIM THEOLOGY.

1. KUR'ĀN.

Nos. 760-773. KUR'ĀN. This beautiful manuscript, in fourteen volumes, contains, in a fifteenth century script, the translation of the Kūr'ān into Persian and Turki (Eastern Turkish) languages. Every page of it is trilingual. The first line contains, in thick Naskhi characters, the text of the Kūr'ān and below every Arabic word is written, in much thinner letters, its Persian equivalent, and immediately below the Persian word comes its Turki equivalent. Both translations being very literal, the Eastern Turkish version furnishes the handiest text for the study of the imperfectly known dialect of Turki in its relation to that used in *Kudatku Bilik* and in Rabghūzi's works.

No. 347. "HUJJAT UL-ISLĀM." A work on the writing and pronunciation of the Kūr'ān arranged in sections under Sūrah headings. The author is called Muḥammad Badr ul-Islām and the date of the composition is given as 1157/1744. The MS. is either an autograph of the author, or written under his direct supervision.

No. 438 C. "SIRĀJ UL-HUFFĀZ." A treatise in Persian about the distinction and interpretation of doubtful words in the Kūr'ān. The author is Haddād b. 'Abd ul-Ḥakīm, and the date of the transcription of the MS. is apparently 1002/1593.

No. 601. Glosses on Baiḍāwī's commentary on Sūrah XIV (Nūr) by

Shihāb ud-Dīn Khafājī, who died in 1069/1659. The MS. is an autograph, and the text that it contains is different from that of Khed. Libr. (I, 181).

No. 337. "BAHR UL-'ISHK." A commentary on Sūrah XII (Yūsuf). The work is anonymous, and the manuscript is dated 1233/1817.

No. 650 D. "SHARH WAJĀWAZNA." A commentary on Sūrah X, 90-92, written in 1133/1720 by Khalil b. Muṣṭafa Istanbūlī, called Fā'id, who died about 1140/1727. The MS. is dated 1134/1721, a year after the composition of the book.

No. 650 L. "MABĀHITH AS-SAYID MA'A TAFTĀZĀNI." A record of a discussion which took place at the court of Amīr Taimūr (Tamerlane) between Jurjāni, who died in 816/1413, and Maṣ'ūd b. 'Umar Taftāzāni, who died in 791/1389, on the force of Qur'anic comparisons.

2. TRADITIONS.

No. 800. "IRSHĀD US-SĀRI FI SHARH BUKHĀRI." An autograph of Kaṣṭallāni. The famous commentary of Shihāb ud-Dīn Kaṣṭallāni on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī. The MS. contains many additions on the margins and erasures in the text, all in the handwriting of the author, who died in 923/1517.

No. 679. "TAJZI'AT of KHAṬĪB on the SUNAN of A. DĀ'ŪD." The MS. contains the famous "Sunan of A. Dā'ūd," but the text that it exhibits is different from that with which we are familiar. From the indications of the MS. we are given to understand that this text is the one edited by Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who died in 463/1070. (The date 403 given by Brockel. (I, 329) is a misprint.) The MS. is dated 1117/1705, and contains in the handwriting of the Kaḍī of Macca a long note specifying the chain of authorities by which the text preserved in this Maccan MS. was guaranteed to be genuine.

No. 414 L. "AḤĀDĪTH FI FAḌĀ'IL AL-MADĪNAH." A work containing forty-one traditions on the merits of Madinah, by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Kārī Harawī, who died in 1014/1605.

No. 735. "SHARH SHAMĀ'IL NABAWĪ." A commentary in Persian upon Ibn Hajar's Arabic commentary on Tirmidhī's well-known *Shamā'il*. The author is Rājī Ḥājji al-Ḥaramain, who composed his work in 978/1570. This precise date is formed from the numerical value of the letters of the title, as counted on the margins of fol. 217^b.

Rājī was a follower of the famous Sayid 'Alī Hamdāni, who, having incurred the wrath of Amīr Taimūr (Tamerlane) fled from Hamdan to Kashmere, where he arrived in 782/1380. He was also a pupil of Ibn

Hajar, whom, on fol. 3^a, he calls "my teacher and my sheikh". The MS. is dated 1225/1810.

No. 540. "FUTŪHĀT KUBRA." A work on traditions, with uncommon divisions. The first division comprises traditions of the Prophet in which the authorities of *six* traditionists are in agreement. The second those of *five*, the third those of *four*, the fourth those of *three*, the fifth those of *two*. Then proceed the traditions for which only a *single* authority can be cited. The author is Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah Ḥasani, who prefixes to his work the profession of faith of his Sayid Muḥammad b. Zaid Kairawāni.

The MS., which may be ascribed to about A.D. 1740, contains statements by judges who had read the book in Madina in 1199/1784.

No. 452 B. "JAWĀHIR UL-UṢŪL FI 'ILM HADĪTH I R-RASŪL." An anonymous work on the science of traditions, their value, and the history of traditionists. It is the handiest of all the treatises we have read on the science of traditions.

In order of date the latest author quoted in the text seems to be Muḥammad Shāmi, who died in 942/1535. The MS. was copied in 1184/1770.

No. 554. "MUNYAT US-SĀLIKĪN WA BUGHYAT UL-ĀRIFĪN." A work on the forty traditions of the Prophet, related, commented upon, and interpreted after a legal and theological fashion. The book is mentioned by Haj. Khal. (VI, 226) but without its author's name and its date. The present MS. gives the author as 'Abd ul-Ḥakḥ b. Ḥasan Miṣri, and the year of his death as 838/1434. It was written about A.D. 1550.

No. 545. "TARJAMA' I KUTB SHĀHI." A free translation into Persian of the forty sayings of the Prophet, as edited by Bahā' ud-Dīn 'Āmuli, who died in 1030/1621. The author is another 'Āmuli: Muḥammad b. 'Ali 'Āmuli, called Ibn Khātun, who died about A.D. 1680.

The work, as the title implies, has been undertaken at the instance of Sultan Muḥammad Kutb Shāh b. Kutb Shāh, who reigned A.D. 1612-1621. He was the fifth ruler of the Kutb Shāh dynasty of Golkanda, and succeeded his more famous brother Kūli Kutb Shāh.

The MS. is dated 1087/1676, and is, therefore, contemporary with the author.

No. 740. "SHARH 'AHDNĀMAH." The book professes to contain advices or instructions given by 'Ali b. a-Ṭālib to Mālik b. Ḥārith Ashtar, when he sent him to take over the government of Egypt. The text is in Arabic, whilst the Commentary is in Persian. The MS. presents an Indian Ta'lik of about A.D. 1680.

No. 639 C. "KANZ UL-AKHYĀR." A collection of sayings of the Prophet. About A.D. 1780. It is in every respect different from that mentioned by Brock. (II, 183), as by 'Imād ud-Dīn.

3. SUNNI THEOLOGY.

No. 631. "KITĀB UD-DĪN WAD-DAULAH." A semi-official defence of Islām written at the court, and by order, of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861). The author is 'Alī b. Rabban Ṭabari, who died before 250/864. The MS. is dated 616/1219. We are glad to be in a position to announce that an English translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of this important work will be published very shortly.

No. 632. "KITĀB UL-IBĀNAH." A work concerning the life and the Caliphate of the four pious Caliphs, by 'Ubaidallah b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān b. Batat, who died about 460/1065. The MS. is very important, and was written not later than 510/1116, and may be considered as part of one of the copies made by the disciples of 'Alī b. Ubaidallah b. Zāghūnī, who died in 527/1134, from his own original.

No. 428 C. "RISĀLAT MAULĀNA ṢŪFĪ." Glosses on some phrases of an anonymous commentary upon the 'Aḳā'id of 'Aḍu d-Dīn Ījī, who died in 756/1355. The author is Ṣūfī Kamān (?) Karrātī, a man absolutely unknown to us. The MS. is dated 1218/1803.

No. 449. "ḤASHIYAT 'ALA SHARḤ 'AḲĀ'ID NASAFĪ." The author is given as Mulla 'Ismat Allah, a man about whom little is known. The MS., which is undated, may be ascribed to about A.D. 1600.

No. 262. "ḤADĀ'IK UL - ḤAKĀ'IK FĪ MAWĀ'IZ AL - KHALĀ'IK." A curious work of an eschatological and ethical character. The author is given as Fakhr ud-Dīn Rāzī, who died in 606/1209, but the indications of the copyist are probably erroneous, because the MS. seems to contain the work of Tāj ud-Dīn Rāzī, who died after 720/1320. See Haj. Khal. III, 20. The MS. is dated 1156/1743.

No. 422. "WĀJIB WA SUNNAH." A treatise on the duties of Muslims and on the best way of performing prayer. The author's name is given as Kidānī, doubtless Luṭf Allah Nasāfī Kidānī, who is presented in Haj. Khal. IV, 368, as the writer of a work on Fatāwi. He lived about 900/1494.

No. 373 "TUḤFAT UL-MUTAKALLIMĪN." A dogmatic work on points of faith according to the Sunnis, with the refutation of the principal sects opposing their belief, such as the Khārījites, the Mu'tazilites, the Kadarīyahs, the Murjīyahs, the Karāmīyahs, the Jabrīyahs, and the Rāfidites.

The author is Burhān Kuraishi 'Abbāsi, who cannot be identified with certainty with any other writer known to us. The book is divided into sixty-five bābs, and the MS. may be ascribed to about A.D. 1750.

No. 446 A. "ITHĀF UL-ḤUḌŪR BI SĀTİ'NŪR." A theological and ethical explanation of Sūrah XXIV, 35-45. The author, whose name is purposely obliterated, was probably 'Abd ul-Kādir b. 'Abd ul-Wāhid Maghribi. The MS. is an autograph, and is dedicated to Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr, who reigned A.D. 1659-1707.

No. 614 B. "SHARḤ WAṢĪYAH." A commentary on the *Wasiyah* of the imam Abu Ḥanifa by Mahmūd b. Aḥmad Bābarti, who died in 786/1384.

No. 614 C. "TADKIRAH LI ŪLI N-NUHA." An anonymous treatise by a Ḥanafite Doctor, on some Qur'ānic and theological points. Dated 1053/1643.

No. 414 A. "FAID UR-RABB FI L'KHALK WAL KASB." An anonymous commentary on a work on the power and prescience of God and the free will of man, by Sayid Muḥammad Kūmaljanawī.

No. 414 B. "SHAWĀRID UL-FARĀ'ID." An incomplete treatise on religious beliefs, by Abu Ḥasan Sindi Athari, who died in 1136/1723.

4. SHĪ'AH THEOLOGY.

No. 362. "THAWĀB UL-A'MĀL." A work upon the rewards and punishments of human deeds. The author is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābūyah al-Qummi, who died in 381/991.

It should here be stated that No. 14522, b. 14 (Vol. II, p. 163) in A. G. Ellis's *Cat. of Arabic printed books in the Brit. Mus.* entitled "Amālī" contains a work which exhibits a text which, if not always identical with, is at least very similar to, that contained in the present MS. It may be ascribed to about A.D. 1780.

No. 686 A. "RISALAT UT-TAUḤĪD." A treatise on the Unity of God, based on Qur'an cxii, 1, the author of which is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bākir Dāmād Ḥusaini, who died in 1041/1631. This precise date is taken from Muḥibbi's *Khulāṣat al-Athar* (Vol. IV, p. 302, Cairo, 1284 A.H.). We do not know on what authority Brockel. (II, 341) and others assign the year of his death to about 1070/1659.

No. 686 B. "RISĀLAH KHAL'ĪYAH." Another work by the same author, in which mention is made of a mystic vision in 1023/1614.

No. 686 C. "RISĀLAH 'ALAWĪYAH." A third work, written in 1024/1615, by the same author, on a saying of the Prophet concerning 'Alī.

No. 686 D. "ŞAHÎFAH MALAKŪTÎYAH." A work written in 1012/1603 by the same author on philosophical, theological and mystical subjects.

No. 686 F. "RISĀLAT UL-KHILĀAH." A treatise written in 1034/1624 by the same author on the creation of the world by God.

No. 686 H. "KITĀB UT-TAKDÎSĀT." A work by the same author on the divine ordination of human nature and existence.

No. 686 J. "RISĀLAH MAKKÎYAH." A mystic treatise by the same writer on the spiritual value of Macca and the Ka'bah.

5. ŞŪFĪ THEOLOGY.

No. 87 A. "ISFĀR 'AN NATĀ'IJ AL-ASFĀR." A work on spiritual journeying, and on the mystical communication with Heaven of many prophets. The author is the very famous Muḥyi d-Dīn ibn 'Arabi, who died in 638/1240.

No. 399 J. "KITĀB UL-JUMAL." A tract giving in short phrases the quintessence of religious beliefs and duties. The author is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan (not Ḥusain, as in Brockel, l. 199) Ḥakīm Tirmidhi, who died in 255/868. This date is taken from *Safīnat al-Auliya* (in *Ethe's Cat. of Pers. MSS. in Ind. Off.*, p. 293, no. 182). We do not find any good reasons for adopting the date 320/932, given by Brockel. (*ibid.*), Ahlwardt, and others.

No. 399 P. "UMMAHĀT UL-MA'ĀRIF." A treatise on the leading principles of Şūfism, by the above Muḥyi d-Dīn b. 'Arabi.

No. 399 R. "NATĀ'IJ UL-ADHKĀR FĪ L'MUḤARRABĪN WAL-ABRĀR." A historical and theological treatise on the *Dhikrs*. The work is important for the study of Şūfī practices, and is also from the prolific pen of Muḥyi d-Dīn b. 'Arabi.

No. 399 cc. "KITĀB UL-YAḤIN." A treatise on the meaning of the word *Yaḥin* as revealed in its letters, by the same Ibn 'Arabi.

No. 399 dd. "RISĀLAT UL-INTIŞĀR." Answers to various questions on mysticism asked by 'Abd ul-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hibatallah. The author is again Ibn 'Arabi.

No. 395. "RISALUT UL-MAKR WAL ISTIDRĀJ." Cf. *Qur'ān* VII, 181, and XIII, 42. A work on the gradual progress of the Saints in the companionship of God. The treatise is anonymous, but on the back of the first page a Persian note states that it is a copy of some marginal notes edited by Khwāja 'Alī from Khwāja Abū Bakr. Undated, but probably the end of the eighteenth century.

No. 634. "RIYĀD UL-ADHKĀR." A Šūfī treatise upon the Muslim formula of faith and reverence and the esoteric value of each, with special emphasis on the worship *Dhikr* of the Dervishes. The author is Aḥad ud-Dīn 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūri, who died in 1061/1651. The work was composed in 1034/1624, and the MS. is dated 1180/1766.

No. 734 G. "MIR'ĀT UL-MUHAKKIKĪN." A treatise in Persian on the knowledge of God and of the soul. The work, which is anonymous, is different from 418, III, in Rieu's *Brit. Mus. Pers. Cat.*

No. 734 I. "RISĀLAT MĪR KHAWĀND." A treatise in Persian on the minutiae of spiritual study and on the belief of the Šūfīs. The author is Muḥammad b. Khāwand Shāh b. Maḥmūd (called Mīr Khawānd) who died in 903/1498. About the author see E. Browne's *Hist. of Persian Lit. under Tartar Dom.*, pp. 431-433, in which, however, there is no mention of the present work.

No. 418. "MAJĀLĪ ILĀHĪYAH." A treatise on Šūfī tenets by Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī who died about 1175/1761. The MS. is an autograph and is dated 1154/1741.

No. 397 A. "SAWĀ'US-SABIL." The work, which has nothing in common with Barzanjī's book mentioned by Brock., II, 389, deals with existence in general, but with special relation to God, to the created worlds, and to the soul. It was composed in 1134/1721 by Kalīm Allah b. Nūr Allah, the mystic writer, who died in the eighteenth Christian century. The MS. is dated 1184/1770.

No. 397 B. "UŞŪL ḤAFİZĪYAH." A collection of Šūfī doctrines, mostly in Persian. The MS. is dated 1193/1779. The author is not mentioned, but he was probably the above Kalīm Allah.

No. 397 D. "RISĀLAT AYYĀM AL-'ASHRA." A work on Šūfī doctrines and practices for ten days, written in 1092/1681 by the same Kalīm Allah.

No. 397 E. "FAḲARĀT." A work, in Persian, on the exposition and explanation of some Šūfī doctrines and practices, by Khwāja 'Ubaid Allah Aḥrār, who died in 895/1490. See reference to him in *Safinah* (*ibid.* no. 87) and *Haft Iḳlīm* (*ibid.* no. 1533). The MS. is dated 1193/1779.

No. 397 F. "ILM AT-TAŞAUWUF." A short treatise on Šūfism. The work is headed "Naḳshband," referring doubtless to Bahā'ud-Dīn Naḳshband Bukhārī, the founder of the Naḳshbandī order, who died in 791/1389 (*Safinah*, no. 82, and *Haft Iḳlīm*, no. 1489).

No. 439 D. "SHARḤ KĀFIYAH." A mystical work in Persian which brings into the Šūfī sphere the grammatical terminology of some Arabic

sentences dealing with *tauḥīd* and *'ishq*. The author is 'Abd ul-Wāḥid Ibrāhīm b. Ḳutb. Seventeenth century.

No. 439 E. "‘IBĀRĀT MAKTŪBAT." A Ṣūfī treatise in Persian on the words of mystic love, by Ḳutb ‘Ālam Makhdūm Shaikh akhi Jamshīd.

6. WAHHĀBĪ THEOLOGY.

No. 618 A. "RISĀLAH MADANĪYAH FĪ MA‘RIFAT BAHĀ’ AL-ILĀHĪYAH." A treatise written and sent to Madina by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ul-Wahhāb, the head of the Wahhābī movement, who died in 1207/1792. This date is taken from Daḥlān’s *Khulāṣat ul-Kalām* (p. 229 of Cairo edit., 1305).

No. 618 B. A lengthy refutation of the Wahhābī tenets by Muḥammad Abu Su‘ūd Shirwānī, who died in 1230/1814. The author wrote it in 1211/1796, and the MS. is dated 1220/1805. It has no title.

7. NUṢAIRI THEOLOGY.

Nos. 721-722. Two different MSS. containing the prayers and the theological beliefs of the Nuṣairis. Undated, but about 1750. The best treatise on this sect is still that by C. Huart in *Journal asiatique*, 1879, pp. 190-261.

THE RE-BIRTH OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

“ Sapiëntia ædificavit sibi domum.”

BY THE EDITOR.

THE reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain, which has been in progress since December, 1914, was advanced another stage on the 28th of last July, with the laying of the first stone of the new building, which is to be erected on a splendid site at the highest point of the town, overlooking the Place du Peuple—the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in the dark days of 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany.

The actual ceremony was preceded by a brilliant academic function in the great amphitheatre of the Collège du Pape, presided over by the venerable and beloved Cardinal Mercier, who is the Président du Conseil d'Administration de l'Université.

Long before the hour fixed for the opening of the proceedings the hall was crowded with guests and students displaying the banners of their corporations. The hall was decked with the flags of all the allies, and there was an impressive display of colour in the uniforms, gowns and hoods worn by the delegates of the many countries, universities, and learned bodies represented. The French Academy sent a large contingent of members, who were attired in the traditional dress, embroidered with laurel leaves, and cocked hats. The staff of the University were arrayed in the quaint toga of pre-war days.

The guests included representatives of the United States, Canada, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Switzerland, Holland, Greece, Roumania, Brazil, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, China, Denmark, the Argentine Republic, Monaco, and Luxemburg, surrounded by delegates of the scientific bodies,

and from the provinces S. of Belgium. "Tous accourus ici," remarked the venerable Prelate, "pour nous interroger sur nos espérances et pour nous aider à les réaliser."

The King and Queen of the Belgians, accompanied by the Princess Marie-José were greeted with cheers as they entered the amphitheatre, followed by Monsieur Raymond Poincaré, the Prince of Monaco, Marshal Pétain, the members of the Belgian Cabinet and of the Diplomatic Corps, and Dr. Murray Butler.

After solemnly blessing the assembly Cardinal Mercier opened the proceedings with an address of welcome, in which he recalled the dreadful night of 25-26 August, 1914, and his avowal of confidence in divine justice, which would not allow the burning of Louvain to be the final act in its long history. Here are the Cardinal's exact words :—

"Nous savions que l'heure de la justice viendrait. Nous l'attendions. À nos soldats, à nos alliés de nous apporter la victoire. A nous de la mériter.

"Jamais pour ma part, je n'ai cru un instant que le Régulateur Suprême des événements humains, qui avait permis que notre foi fût soumise à pareille épreuve, pût nous abandonner.

"Aux heures les plus tragiques de notre épreuve, les évêques belges, gardiens et protecteurs de l'Université de Louvain, ne doutèrent jamais de sa résurrection prochaine et de ses glorieuses destinées. . . . Nous avons eu une foi indéfectible dans le triomphe final de justice."

His Eminence, in the course of his address, remarked that there were two dates which would ever be remembered in Belgium, dates which mark ruin and restoration, the one (25-26 August, 1914) the date of the burning of the library, the other (28 July, 1921) the date of the commencement of the erection, near its ruins, of the new building which is to replace it.

The Cardinal's reference to the King, who, with the Queen and the young Princess, were present throughout the whole of the proceedings, was received with renewed applause, due not merely to personal popularity, but because, as the Cardinal said of him : "Sa Majesté le Roi, calme au milieu des orages et sans peur des dangers, représente en lui-même ce qu'il y a de plus noble dans la vie et le caractère du peuple".

It was eminently appropriate that Cardinal Mercier should take the leading part in the ceremonials of the day which were to commemorate restoration, for was he not the man who had valiantly faced danger and loss whilst so wisely guiding his people in the days of their tragic distress. Resplendent in robes of scarlet, tall, spare, but supremely dignified in bearing, the Cardinal, from whose countenance radiated benedictions, seemed to dominate the whole assembly, and as he descended from the tribune at the conclusion of his speech he was again greeted with tremendous applause.

A message from President Harding was then read by Mr. Brand Whitlock, the Ambassador of the United States to Belgium, the whole assembly standing to hear it read. It was a message of good wishes for the future of the University of Louvain, combined with a hope that the bond of friendship uniting it with the universities of America would prove to be one of the strongest ties which hold the two countries together.

Dr. Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, and Chairman of the American National Committee, which was formed to collaborate with the English and other European Committees in the work of reconstruction of the Louvain Library, and which has made itself responsible for the erection of the new library building, was given an enthusiastic reception when he rose to deliver an address in French, which was in every sense worthy of so great an occasion.

We reproduce the concluding passage, which was warmly applauded by every one present :—

“La guerre est finie. Le moment est venu de panser les blessures, de soigner les orphelins, les pauvres, les malheureux, et de rebâtir ces monuments qui expriment les plus hautes aspirations humaines.

“L'Amérique a vivement désiré vous aider dans cette tâche. Elle ne peut donner autant qu'elle le voudrait, mais elle veut donner autant qu'il lui est possible.

“La reconstruction de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain était son premier désir. Elle a saisi l'occasion qui lui fut offerte. Je suis heureux d'être ici, en cette noble assistance, et de représenter les nombreux Américains qui y ont, chacun selon leurs moyens, apporté une contribution. En leur nom je poserai la première pierre de cet édifice en vous assurant que

leur sympathie et leurs vœux suivront les progrès de la construction.

“Ce bâtiment, qui s’élèvera parmi les ruines, sera un témoignage du lien qui unit notre nation à la Belgique, à la France, à l’Angleterre, et à leurs alliés.

“Une nation qui défend une noble cause reçoit un nouveau baptême. Ce baptême, nous l’avons reçu ainsi que vous ; et nos cœurs, scellés dans cette pierre, vous affirment que jamais nous ne resterons en arrière, si la liberté du monde était du nouveau menacée, et si les canons et les flammes avançaient pour détruire ces nobles monuments de la pensée et du progrès.”

Monsieur Poincaré, the ex-President of the French Republic, followed with a spirited and eloquent oration, which, in spite of the overpowering heat, was greeted point by point with tumultuous applause, the audience sometimes rising to their feet to cheer. In the course of his speech he referred to the premeditated crimes of the Germans in Belgium, and closed with an appeal for a general unity which should guarantee peace :—

“À nous, maintenant, de faire en sorte que la victoire reste la victoire, et que la paix soit la paix. Une paix qui permettrait le recommencement des horreurs que nous avons vues, une paix qui laisserait les petits peuples à la merci de la force, une paix qui ne donnerait pas la réparation des dommages causés et des injustices commises, ne serait qu’une trêve mensongère et une nouvelle veillée des armes. Travaillons tous ensemble à conjurer un tel désastre. Faisons de la paix une oeuvre de justice pour en faire une réalité durable. Nous allons reconstruire la Bibliothèque de Louvain ; reconstruisons sur des fondements solides la maison de humanité.”

In one other fine passage Monsieur Poincaré declared that :—

“ . . . si brillant qu’ait été le passé de l’Université de Louvain, si justement réputée qu’elle fut encore à la veille de la guerre, c’est dans sa résurrection d’aujourd’hui qu’elle atteint vraiment au sommet de la gloire. L’armée allemande a cru la réduire en cendres ; elle lui a assuré l’immortalité.”

Other addresses followed, including an impassioned oration in Flemish by Monsieur Helleputte, Minister of State, and Professor Emeritus of the University. Monsieur Carton de Wiart, Belgium’s

principal Minister of State, referred in moving terms to the manifestation of international regard which that gathering stood for, and concluded on the following high note :—

“ L’Humanité s’est sentie violée dans ce qui, dit Pascal, est la principe même de sa dignité : sa pensée, reflet de la sagesse divine. Spontanément, dans l’unité de son âme, elle s’est vouée à l’oeuvre qu’Émile Boutroux a parfaitement définie : réparer l’injure faite, par l’incendie de Louvain, à la civilisation tout entière.

“ C’est un acte infiniment grand, infiniment beau. Il n’a pas de précédent dans l’histoire. Puisse l’avenir ne jamais vouloir qu’il puisse se renouveler.

“ Pour cet acte de solidarité sociale et scientifique—qui va faire sortir la vie de la mort—la Belgique, profondément émue d’en être la bénéficiaire vous dit à tous, par la présence de ses Souverains aimés et respectés, le seul mot que la langue française connaisse, n’est il pas vrai, pour traduire le sentiment qui déborde en nous ! Merci !

“ Merci à vous tous, Messieurs, dont la pensée a tout compris et dont le cœur a vraiment saigné pour Louvain ! ”

At the conclusion of the academic function, which had lasted nearly two hours, a procession, composed of the guests and the professorial staff of the University, preceded by the students grouped behind their respective banners, was formed to proceed to the scene of the stone-laying, in which the King and Queen walked side by side with the Cardinal, who, vested in cope and mitre, with crozier in hand, blessed the waiting crowds as he passed.

Every avenue of approach to the Place du Peuple was blocked by the orderly but none the less enthusiastic crowds, which, in addition to the townsfolk, included peasant women and farmers from the surrounding country, many of whom were attired in the picturesque national costume of Flanders.

Amid the sweet singing of the Gregorian “ Te Deum ” by a choir of 300 voices, and the ringing of the “ carillon,” the traditional chimes of Belgium, and in the presence of a concourse of at least thirty thousand people, the first chapter of the spiritual restoration of Louvain was opened.

Facing the stage, and at the approach to the spot where the first

stone was to be laid, was a great scroll which set forth the meaning of the day's proceedings in the following inscription :—

HOSTILI INCENDIO Eversa Benevolentia AMERICANA
CONSURGO.¹

Prior to the laying of the stone it was blessed by the Cardinal, and for this ceremony an altar had been set up, on which stood a famous ivory crucifix, more than three feet high, made by the celebrated De Bouchardon, and at one time owned by Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

The stone, which bears on one face the following inscription :—

LAPIS PRIMARIUS BIBLIOTHECÆ LOVANIENSIS NOBILITER
REFICIENDÆ,¹

was then well and truly laid by Dr. Butler, the band playing the while the “Brabançonne,” and the trumpets blaring the “Aux Champs”.

It was a thrilling moment when the Rector Magnificus, Monseigneur P. Ladeuze, in the blaze of summer sunshine, and in the midst of this distinguished gathering, after voicing the thanks of the University to all who had in any way assisted in the restoration, recalled what had passed at that very spot seven years ago. The destruction of Louvain began in the Place du Peuple, and the address delivered by the Rector of the University, himself an actual witness of the destruction wrought by the Germans, produced indescribable emotion among the spectators. Here, as we have already stated, was the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in those dark days in 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany.

At the conclusion of this imposing ceremony, which lasted until two o'clock in the afternoon, the guests proceeded to the Salle des Fêtes in the Collège de la Sainte Trinité, where a banquet had been prepared, over which Cardinal Mercier again presided. Nearly five

¹ In Belgium it is the custom to commemorate important events by a Latin inscription in the form of a chronogram in which certain numeral letters, made to appear specially conspicuous, on being added together express a particular date.

The letters are calculated according to the ancient method :—

M = 1000, D = 500, C = 100, L = 50, X = 10, U or V = 5, I = 1.

Hence, the outstanding letters in the above inscriptions, when added together, give the date 1921.

hundred guests were present. After the loyal toasts had been honoured there was another flow of eloquence, many well-known scholars taking part in the proceedings by offering congratulations on behalf of the governments or universities which they represented.

This was America's day. It was to America primarily that the gratitude of the University and of the people turned on this occasion. But the representatives of the English Committee, amongst whom were : Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., who was Chairman of the Governors of the John Rylands Library, when, in 1914, the scheme of reconstruction was inaugurated ; Sir Arthur Shipley, the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge ; Dr. Cowley, the Librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford ; and the present writer, who represented the Governors of the John Rylands Library, and the English contributors, recalled to mind with pardonable pride that it was in England that this movement began. The project arose from a desire to render assistance to the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the Germans, by providing them with the nucleus of a new working library to replace the famous collection of books and manuscripts which had been so ruthlessly destroyed.

The two succeeding days were spent by the writer in Louvain, as the guest of the University. They were never-to-be-forgotten days, for the Rector, Monseigneur Ladeuze, and Monsieur L. Stainier, who has been actively engaged in directing the work of reparation ever since the University was repatriated, were untiring in their efforts to make our first visit to Louvain interesting. Many new friendships were formed amongst the members of the university staff, all of whom conspired with the Rector to make the visit in every sense a memorable one.

On the day preceding our departure we were entertained at a banquet, given by the Rector, and attended by members of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, the object of which was to honour the representative of the English Committee by conferring upon him the degree *honoris causa* of Doctor of Philosophy, as a mark of the gratitude and appreciation of the University for the service which we in England had been able to render. We were deeply touched by the gracious and generous words in which the Rector referred to the English Gift Library ; and it gives us much pleasure to convey to each and every contributor, at the request of Monseigneur Ladeuze,

the affectionate regards and thanks of the members of the University for the inestimable service, which collectively we have rendered to them—a service which will ever live in their grateful memories.

This occasion gave us the desired opportunity for formally offering to the University through the Rector, on behalf of those we represented, our heartiest congratulations on what might be described as “the happy issue out of all their afflictions,” and also for expressing the confident hope that the future of the University might be richer and more glorious than even its memorable past.

We also ventured to explain to our hosts that when, in April, 1915, we launched our scheme of reparation by the issue of our first public appeal, we were anxious that the resultant gift should be not unworthy of the incomparable bravery displayed by our noble allies and their valiant sovereign, in their fearless, if at first ineffectual, resistance to the overwhelming hordes of devastating troops which were hurled against them, and at the same time be a tangible proof of the affectionate regard in which we hold them.

It was no part of our scheme to relieve Germany of her obligation to replace from her own libraries the equivalent of the treasures she had so senselessly destroyed. Since, however, much time was likely to elapse before the damage could be assessed and the work of restitution be entered upon, we were anxious to provide for our friends the nucleus of a working library in readiness for the time of their repatriation, when they would return to the scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to resume their accustomed work.

In the evening of the same day another banquet was arranged by Monsieur Stainier, at which the Rector and many members of the Faculty were again present, to welcome their new colleague and to take leave of him. Indeed, from the moment of our arrival in Louvain until the moment of our departure, we were simply overwhelmed with kindness.

The gratitude of our friends at Louvain knows no bounds. It is almost pathetic in its fervour. Said one of the professors: “You cannot fancy what it is to have been deprived of such an indispensable tool as a library, and then to see streaming in the choice and valuable books that make it possible for us to resume our work”.

The new library is temporarily housed in the Institut Spaelberch, and it afforded us unspeakable pleasure to see upon the shelves, and

again to handle some of the 38,000 volumes which had already passed through our hands on their way to their new home, as well as to turn over once again the catalogue cards prepared in Manchester, which now form the nucleus of the new library catalogue.

It will interest the many benefactors, who so generously assisted us with their valued contributions, to learn that whatever dimensions the new library ultimately attains, the English gift will be kept apart, both on the shelves and in the catalogue. It is to be an English library in the heart of Louvain, and it was frankly acknowledged that were no other books to be added to it, it would in itself be one of which any city might be proud.

Before leaving we naturally made a pilgrimage to the desolated ruins of the old library, which had been placed above the mediæval Clothworkers' Hall. There in flaming letters on the calcined walls we read the verdict of the civilised world in the words :—

“ICI FINIT LA CULTURE ALLEMANDE.”

The style of architecture of the new building is very appropriately to be that of the seventeenth-century Flemish Renaissance. No attempt has been made to reproduce the one destroyed, which was of a composite character, the ground floor being fourteenth century, whilst the first story was of the time of Louis XIII. Every detail of the new design is Flemish, and it will be constructed in brick and stone of local origin. The length of the façade will be 230 feet, with a depth of 150 feet. On the ground floor there will be a great open arcade, fronted by a row of fine arches.

In the ornamentation of the façade over the principal entrance will stand a figure of the Blessed Virgin, whilst two escutcheons will bear respectively the arms of Belgium and of the United States. Along the base of the slate roof will run a stone balustrade worked in the form of letters, composing the following words :—

“FURORE TEUTONICO DIRUTA, DONO AMERICANO RESTITUTA.”

It will be an imposing and beautiful building, recalling the purest traditions of Flemish and Brabançonne art.

The book stacks are to be of steel-construction, and will provide accommodation for two million volumes.

Mr. Whitney Warren, a leading American architect, assisted by Mr. Chartres D. Watmore, have been responsible for the design.

We must not conclude this brief account of the proceedings of a day which will be memorable in the annals of the University of Louvain, and which will live in the memory of all who were privileged to be present, without extending to those of our readers, who so readily and generously lent a hand in this great work of reparation, by responding to the appeals for help which from time to time we have made during the last seven years, the expressions of profound gratitude which fell from the lips of one speaker after another in the course of the day's proceedings.

These expressions were summed up, reiterated and emphasised by Monsieur Van den Heuvel, speaking in the name of the University, in a voice which was full of emotion, at the conclusion of the banquet, which terminated the day's official proceedings.

Here are a few paragraphs gleaned from his speech :—

“ L'Université de Louvain a encore un devoir à remplir avant que se clôtüre cette admirable journée. En son nom je viens réitérer l'expression d'une profonde reconnaissance à l'égard de tous ceux qui ont eu la délicate et généreuse pensée de collaborer à la reconstruction de sa bibliothèque.

.

Combien audacieux était le projet ! On ne s'occuperait pas de l'Allemagne. Elle avait détruit, elle avait la charge de réparer. Mais la bibliothèque incendiée devait au lendemain de la guerre être plus complète, plus riche, plus belle qu'elle ne l'avait jamais été. Comme on voit sur le frise du Parthénon la théorie des Panathénées apportant chacun leur offrande au Temple, ainsi les diverses nations seraient appelées à venir à Louvain les mains pleines de livres, d'objets d'art, et à exposer les progrès de la science de leur pays. Mais pour que le plan fût complet, l'une d'elles devait consentir à prendre à sa charge la construction du sanctuaire où serait réunie cette universelle documentation.

La conception était si grandiose qu'elle apparaissait presque chimérique.

Et voici qu'elle se réalise sous vos yeux.

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Notre gratitude va aux gouvernements et aux comités des diverses nations ici représentées, et qui par leurs dons com-

mencent déjà à meubler les rayons et à préparer la décoration du grande édifice de demain.

Que le Ciel veuille nous accorder des années pacifiques ! Et puissions nous dans deux ou trois ans vous donner rendez-vous, non pas à la première pierre, mais au couronnement de ce grand monument commémoratif, qui sera la future Bibliothèque. Vous y trouverez, comme dans une ruche vivante, des milliers d'étudiants à la recherche du miel de la science. Sur la tour élancée du bâtiment flotteront les couleurs de la Belgique et des Etats-Unis, encadrées par les drapeaux des diverses nations amies."

It may not be out of place briefly to recall some of the impressions which we formed of those parts of Belgium, both urban and rural, through which we passed on our journey to and from Louvain.

Frankly, we were amazed at the evidences on every hand of the phenomenal recovery which the country is making. Less than two years ago the same journey would have revealed nothing but a wilderness of shell-holes and rank grass. In the meantime, efforts, which can only be described as superhuman, have been put forth to rebuild shattered railway stations and demolished bridges, and to replant the trees which had been either felled for military purposes, or wantonly destroyed by the devastating hordes of barbarian invaders, with the result that to-day shell-holes are the exception ; they have been filled in with the spade, and ploughed over with motor cultivators, until, in place of the foul and rugged wilderness, there are now clean and level fields.

Indeed, there is now little about the landscape to suggest that it has ever been devastated at all, and it would be a comparatively easy matter to forget the dreadful years which filled the air with tumult and drenched the very soil with blood.

A new feature of the landscape to-day is that, in place of the huts and squalid shanties in which for a time the pioneers of the returning population lived miserably, there are springing up everywhere farms with their red tiled roofs and spacious barns. In some cases the people have taken advantage of the rebuilding to bring their houses up to date, but in most cases they have simply put them back exactly as they were before.

The result is that agriculture has made a wonderful recovery, and during the last summer and autumn it was evident that every rood of ground had been brought back into cultivation.

The land is largely owned by small peasant proprietors, and it was interesting to notice from the railway carriage window the feverish haste with which the harvest was being gathered, the grain crop being stacked in small hive-shaped ricks or stooks at the end of the patch where it had been grown.

Even before the last sheaf had been stacked the plough was seen to be at work preparing the soil for the next crop. In one case we noticed that a young woman, perhaps the farmer's daughter, had been yoked to the plough, in another case a dog, in a third a donkey, and in yet another case a cow.

Another peculiarity which we remarked was that every scrap of ground was brought under cultivation. There were few encumbering hedges, as in this country. That they are beautiful no one can deny, but economically they are undoubtedly a mistake. The holdings were separated by a simple narrow foot-path, such as may be seen on our own allotments, or by a light open fence.

It is a favourite plan of many of the towns in northern Flanders to place the railway station on the outskirts, and to connect the two by a broad straight road lined with good houses and shops leading right into the principal place or square.

In the case of Louvain this road is nearly half a mile in length, and connects the "Gare" with the Hotel de Ville, which fortunately escaped unscathed and stands almost intact, with its delicate masonry, and over two hundred statues on pinnacles or in niches. But the road itself, and nearly all the houses on and near it, were entirely demolished. To-day the roadway is restored, the trams are running, and new buildings are rising the whole length of it, and it is newly named the "Avenue des Alliés".

The city itself is built in the form of a star-fish. All the old buildings were in the centre, and, as it were, along the rays. The destroying army burnt out the centre, and along its rays spread their incendiarism, demolishing no fewer than twelve hundred houses. Of these seven hundred have been rebuilt, and the seven-year-old wounds are gradually being healed.

We were told that by the end of next year there will be very few

traces of the war left, with the exception of those deliberately perpetuated as reminders, and we can well believe it.

This rapid reconstruction going on in Belgium should be an object lesson to the working classes of this country with their "ca' canny" methods. Wherever in Belgium rebuilding operations are in progress the sounds of the trowel and hammer are incessantly heard from early dawn as long as the light lasts, and the footpaths are encumbered with building materials. The trowels used by the bricklayers are larger than ours, and the bricks are smaller, but what really matters is that the men over there are not only earning good money on piecework, but they are keen to get through with one job and on to the next. It has been this desire on the part of the Belgian workman to work hard that is causing new Belgium to spring like magic from her ruins. The organised Labour Party, we are told, looks askance on this activity, but fortunately it is not strong enough to overcome the zeal of the irrepressible bricklayers.

At Malines, where we had the pleasure of dining with Cardinal Mercier, there is still evidence both inside and outside the Cathedral of the vandalism of the invaders. One stained glass window has miraculously escaped destruction, but monumental effigies have been decapitated, and the famous carved wooden pulpit has not escaped unscathed. Thanks, however, to the successful pleadings of the Cardinal, the bells, as at Bruges, have been preserved, and to-day the sweet notes of the carillon mingle with the harsher sounds of the hammer and trowel of the workmen who are engaged in healing the wounds and obliterating the scars inflicted by the barbarians who had not respect even for the sanctuary.

As we reflected upon this wonderful recovery, which the great little nation of Belgium is making, we recalled to mind the spirit which sustained our allies throughout their years of captivity and exile, as it was revealed in that moving editorial, with its confident note of faith in the justice of their cause, and in the ultimate success of their arms, which appeared in the first London issue of the exiled "Indépendance Belge".

Here is one of the most striking paragraphs :—

"So shall we return—let us doubt it not—to our liberated country. We shall raise anew our towns, set our factories afresh in motion, repair our railways and our harbours, resume our rank among productive

nations, and make a new and industrious Belgium great by her works, and high in the whole world's esteem."

When that manifesto was written, early in 1915, our allies could not foresee what bitter experiences were in store for them, but they could face the future with a courage and a determination, coupled with self-sacrifice, which have been not only abundantly justified, but have evoked our admiration and our envy.

Never for one moment did they abandon hope, and continuing in that spirit there will assuredly rise a Belgium more prosperous and more glorious than history has hitherto known.

AN INTERESTING CONFIRMATION.

BY RENDAL HARRIS, M.A. LITT.D., D. THEOL., ETC.

IN an article which I wrote two years since in this BULLETIN on *The Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults*, I ventured, in my zeal for the identification of the existing, or just disappearing, practices in the apple-orchards of the West, with the long since disappeared worship of Apollo, into the region of prophecy. This will seem dangerous in itself, but still more dangerous when we reflect on the association of the vaticination with the name of Apollo, of whom Milton reminds us at this season of the year that "he can no more divine".

The occasion for my exercising the mantic gift was as follows : I repeat a few sentences which are necessary to lead up to the oracle itself. They refer to certain practices which used to occur in Manxland on the Festival of Twelfth Night. "The next thing we come across in the Manx ceremony is a combination of music and mantic, in the person of the fiddler who directs the dance. He proceeds to tell the fortunes of the coming year to the young men and maidens : this is described as follows by Waldron :—

'On twelfth day the fiddler lays his head on some one of the wenches' laps, and a third person asks who such a maid, or such a maid, shall marry, naming the girls there present one after another ; to which he answers according to his own whim, or agreeable to the intimacies he has taken note of during the time of merriment. But *whatever he says is as absolutely depended on as an oracle* ; and if he happens to couple two people who have an aversion to each other, tears and vexation succeed the mirth. This they call *cutting off the fiddler's head*, for after this he is dead for the whole year. This custom still continues in every parish.'"¹

¹ Cf. A. B. Cook (*Folk-lore*, 1904, xv. 402-408), for the death and resurrection of the priestly king at Delphi.

Upon this custom I remarked that "The fiddler is a primitive Apollo, with a fiddle in place of a lyre, not a wide variation in music, and the suggestion arises that Apollo was originally oracular at a particular time of the year, and that at other times he was quiescent. The girl in whose lap the fiddler lays his head is the prototype of the Pythian priestess who gives the responses for the god".

When I wrote this I did not suspect that the oracle on which I ventured, was already extant in the Greek literature. Plutarch tells us in his *Quæstiones Græcæ*, c. ix., that originally the Pythia was not a prophetess all the year round, but only on the seventh day of the month Bysios, which is the birthday of the god and the time when they celebrate the return of the god to Delphi, under the term of Theophany and Epiphany. At such a time the Pythia gave oracular responses and apparently at no other.

The confirmation is interesting, not only for its own sake, but for its relation to Christian tradition. The Twelfth-Night is known to be the original birth-day of Christ, before the December Festival was instituted ; and its Christian title of Epiphany has nothing whatever to do with the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles ; its real parallel is a Delphic Festival of the same name. On one hand it appears to be the return of the solar hero : on the other, it is the occasion for taking the Luck of the Year, in causes matrimonial and otherwise. For the date of the oracle we may compare further Mommsen, *Delphika*, 281.

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